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Date of Madhava Sarasvati

BY

M. S. Bhat, M.A., Dip. Lib.

Among the later Hindu writers on the various Vedic and non-Vedic schools of thought, Mādhava Sarasvatī, the author of the Sarvadarśanakaumudī, occupies an exalted position, and is, possibly rivalled by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, author of the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha. While the former unfolds five or six schools of thought, and while lesser ones have been stated briefly by him, the latter expounds fifteen schools of thought.

In the treatment of the theme, both differ inasmuch as Mādhava Sarasvatī accepts the three-fold Vedic systems of philosophy, viz., Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Śaṅkhya-Yoga, Purvā- and Uttara Mīmāṁsā as striving after self-cognition, and discards those of Cārvākas, Jains and Buddhists, Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, however, affirms the Advaita doctrines by refuting all other Vedic and non-Vedic systems of philosophy.

Regarding the personal history of Mādhava Sarasvatī, the known facts as gathered mainly from the Sarvadarśanakaumudi[1] can be summarised as follows. He hailed originally from Gokarṇa,[2] but settled in a monastery at a place called by various names like Sodāsī, Sodā, Śomadā.[3] He refers to his revered *guru* Vidyendravana[4] in most respectful terms in the introductory and in the concluding portions of the above work. He belonged to the Sarasvatī-class of ascetics and was

1. Sarvadarśanakaumudī (T.S.S. No. CXXXV), 1938.
2. *Ibid.*, yatrāsti Gokarṇamahābaleśaḥ | Taddeśajanmā || p. 112.
3. *Ibid.*, Sodāsyapuryāmakarot kṛtiṁ saḥ || p. 112; Sodānagarī samasti satpuruṣā || p. 144; Somadāpure | Sthito Mādhavakarmandī || p. 145.
4. *Ibid.*, Vidyendravananāmānaṁ śrīguruṁ praṇamāmyaham | Vineya-bhṛṅgasaṁlīḍhpādapaṅkeruhāsavam || p. 1; Iti śrīmatparamahaṁsapaṙivrājakācāryaśrī Vidyendravanaśiṣyaparamahaṁsaparivrājaka Mādhavasarasvatī etc.

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ekadaṇḍī,[5] i.e., wearer of a single staff. He styles himself as *padavākyapramāṇajña*,[6] i.e., conversant with Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya, which befits him, for we know his many-sided scholarship from the list of his works appended by him at the colophon of SDK.[7] They are (1) Mayūkhamālā, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's Tattvacintāmaṇi, a Navya-Nyāya work; (2) Mitabhāṣiṇī, a commentary on Sivāditya's Saptapadārthī, a Vaiśeṣika work; (3) Mandānukaṁpinī, a commentary on Udayana's Nyāyakumāñjalī, a Nyāya work; (4) Vāsiṣṭhapañcikā, a commentary on Yogavāsiṣṭha, a Vedanta work; (5) Abhinavasaptapadārthī, a Vaiśeṣika work; and (6) Sarvadarśanakaumudī, a work dealing with the different schools of thought. There is every reason to believe that Mādhava Sarasvati has given, in the above list, his works in the order in which they were written by him. He was a commentator, *par excellence*, but he has to his credit two original works Abhinavasaptapadārthī and Sarvadarśanakaumudī.

Mādhava Sarasvatī refers to his place as having been ruled by a chief styled under various names like Arasendrabhūpala and Arasendramahīpāla,[8] under whose patronage, possibly, Mādhava Sarasvatī wrote on the different systems of philosophy. Among the works of Mādhava Sarasvatī, only M.B. a commentary on Sivāditya's Saptapadārthī and SDK., has been published.[9] The other works, alluded to by Mādhava Sarasvatī, are non-extant at present, and hence irretrievably lost. However, a manuscript of a commentary entitled Prakriyā-Sudhā on Rāmachandra's Prakriyā Kaumudī, a Prakaraṇa work on Pāṇinian Grammar is noticed in a private

5. *Ibid.*, Yatirekadaṇḍī | SarasvatīmastakaMādhavākhyaḥ || p. 112; Tatrāste yativaryo Mādhavasaṁjñassarasvatīpūrvaḥ || p. 145. Cf. Ekadaṇḍī tridaṇḍī vā. Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra, 2.10.18.1.

6. *Ibid.*, Padavākyapramāṇajñō Mādhavākhyasarasvatī || p. 1, 89, 194. 112 (twice).

7. *Ibid.*, Mayūkhamālā Cintāmaṇitikā, Mitabhāṣinī nāma Saptapadārthīṭikā, Māndānukaṁpinī nāma Kusumāñjalipadyaṭīka, Vāsiṣṭhapañcikā nāma Vāsiṣṭhavyākhyā, Abhinavasaptapadārthī, Sarvadarśanakaumudī | Ābhistuṣaḍbhiḥ kṛtibhirīśvaraḥ prīyatāṁ sadā || p. 145.

8. *Ibid.*, Arasendrabhūpavasatis Sodānagarī samasti satpuruṣā || p. 144; Arasendramahīpālapālite Somadāpure || p. 145.

9. *MB.*, published in Vijayanagaram Sanskrit Series and Calcutta Sanskrit Series. *SDK*, published in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

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collection,[10] which extends upto the Pūrvārdha of the PK.[11] The PS manuscript contains the commentary only and the text of the PK is reproduced only in the form of *pratīkas*. The colophon to Subanta-Prakriyā[12] attributes the work to Mādhava Sarasvatī. The PS. does not find a place among the commentaries on PK. in a recent work,[13] and it has never been noticed in any of the catalogue of manuscripts. In the colophon to Samāsa-Prakriyā[14] of PS. we find Mādhava Sarasvatī referring to his preceptor, Vidyendravana in glowing terms.

The identification of Mādhava Sarasvatī, author of PS. with the author of the six works cited above rests on the facts, viz., he styles himself as padavākyapramāṇajña[15] and refers to his guru Vidyendravana.[16] These facts cannot be brushed aside as either an empty boast or a coincidence for there is ample evidence to show that Mādhava Sarasvatī was a grammarian of no mean order.[17] Possibly the PS. was written after the six works at the fag end of the author's career.

Mr. Sambasiva Sastri,[18] the editor of SDK. states, "Mahāmahopādhyāya Abhyaṇker Vāsudeva Śastri had fixed the date of Mādhava Sarasvatī, to whom the commentary of Saptapadār-

10. About hundred-year old palm-leaf manuscript in Malayalam-Grantha characters having 143 leaves with 9 lines to a page, size being 8.8" × 1.9". Begins: Svasti Śrīgaṇādhipataye namaḥ || Ends: Iti śrīmatparamahaṁsaparivrājakācārya Mādhava-Sarasvatīviracite Prakriyākaumudī vyākhyāyāṁ Prakriyāsudhāyaṁ Subantaḥ samāptaḥ ||

11. Prakriyā-Kaumudī (*B.S.S.*, No. LXXVIII), 1925, Part I.

12. *vide supra*, f.n. 10.

13. Yudhiṣṭira Mīmāṁsaka, *Saṁkṛta Vyākaraṇa Sāhitya kā Itihās*, Pratham Bhāg, pp. 382-386.

14. Iti śrīVidyendravanacaraṇabhṛṅgaMādhava Sarasvatī viracitāyām etc.

15. Padavākyapramāṇajño Mādhavākhyasarasvatī | Vivṛṇoti Kaumudyāstaddhitaprakriyāṁ mudā || colophon to the PS.

16. *vide supra*, f.n. 14.

17. Cf. śaṁ sukhaṁ bhavaty asamāditi . . . . . etattu sarve śabdā vyutpannā eveti pakṣamāśritya vyākhyātam. "Viprasaṁbhyo ḍvasaṁjñāyām" (P. 3.2.180) iti sūtre "Mitadruvādibhyaśca" (vā. on. P. 3. 2.180) iti vārttikenāsaṁjñāyāṁ ḍupratyayavidhānācca śaṁbhuśabdaḥ, etc. MB. on Sivāditya's *Saptapadārthī*. (Viz. Skt. Series), pp. 2-3.

18. *SDK.*, (T.S.S. No. CXXXV), 1938, intro., p iv.

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thīṭikā is as ascribed, as 1350 A.D." Possibly, Abhyankar Sastri was led away by Peterson's Report on MB. manuscript as dated Saṁvat 1405.[19]

But there is a good deal of evidence, both internal and external, which confirms that Mādhava Sarasvatī can be assigned a date, viz., between 1500-1560 A.D.

I. *Internal Evidence*:

a) Mādhava Sarasvatī refers to Varadarāja,[20] author of a commentary on Bhavanāthabhaṭṭa's Nayaviveka, a Pūrva-Mīmāṁsa Work, who has been assigned a date, viz., circa 1500-1570 A.D.[21]

b) Mādhava Sarasvatī mentions Gokarṇa, where a temple is dedicated to Mahābaleśvara, as situated in Gorāṣṭradeśa,[22] can be identified with the present Gokarn, in Kumpta Taluk in North Kanara District. Gorāṣṭra is usually applied to Goa and its surroundings, but in this case we find that word is used to denote the territories around Gokarṇa which is unusual as Gokarṇa is considered generally to be situated in Vanavāsi. Possibly during the time of Mādhava Sarasvatī, the state of Gorāṣṭra *minus* of course Goa (which was under Portuguese rule) compraised the territory surrounding Gokarṇa which went by that name.

c) We can identify the place referred to variously as Sodāsī, Sodā, Somadā with Sonda in Sirsi Taluk (adjoining Kumpta Taluk where Gokarṇa situated) as it satisfies the details given regarding it by Mādhava Sarasvatī.[23] Sonda lies about 35 miles North-East of Gokarṇa. Sonda was a flourishing town during the time of Mādhava Sarasvatī and it became gradually the capital of the Sonda chiefs.

19. Peterson, *Fifth Report of the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1896, p. 241.

20. *SDK.*, (T.S.S. No. CXXXV), 1938, p. 90.

21. Ramaswami Sāstri, *Short History of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā Śāstra* (in Tattvabindu A.U.S.S. No. 3), p. 92.

22. *SDK.*, (TS.S. No. CXXXV), Gorāṣṭradese' khilarāṣṭravaryaḥ, sadākaro dakṣinadeśaniṣṭhaḥ | Virājate Sahyagirīndrasānau, Yatrāsti Gokarṇamahābaleśāḥ || p. 112.

23. *Ibid.*, Gorṣtradesamadhye Gokarṇāt pūrvato' pūrvā | Arasendrabhūpavasatiṣ Sodānagarī samasti satpuruṣā || p. 144.

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d) Sonda chiefs seem to belong to a branch of Vijayanagar Rulers,[24] and ruled from Sonda between 1560-1763 A.D. The chief of this line of rulers, was Immaḍi Arasappa Nayaka (1555-1598 A.D.).[25] We can identify this chief with Arasendrabhūpa mentioned by Mādhava Sarasvatī. In the inscriptions copied from Sonda[26] we find Arasappa Nayaka mentioned in four epigraphs. In two epigraphs[27] we find him granting land to Nirāsi Maṭha,[28] which seems to have been derived from Nṛsiṁha Maṭha after the principal deity which was given to Viśvavandya Sarasvatī by Ādi Saṅkarācārya (788-820 A.D.). It is all the more likely that Vidyendravana Sarasvatī and Mādhava Sarasvatī belonged to this line of ascetics.[29].

II. *External evidence*:

e) The date of Rāmacandra, the author of Prakriyākaumudī is generally assigned to the latter half of the 14th century A.D.[30] As Mādhava Sarasvatī wrote a commentary PS. on it, he must have flourished after Rāmacandra.

f) Viṭṭhala wrote a commentary entitled Prasāda on PK., in 1450 A.D.,[31] which seems to be the earliest commentary[32] as it does not refer to any previous commentators. A close study of

24. Buchanan, *Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 213. "I went three cosses to the place which Europeans and Mussulmans call *Soonda*. In the vulgar language of *Karnata* it is called Sudha, which is a corruption from *Sudhapura*, the Sanskrit appellation" *Ibid.*, p. 211.

25. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XV, Pt. II. p. 120.

26. *ARSIE*, for 1939-40, App. E. Nos. 72-73, 75 and 76.

27. *Ibid.*, Nos. 72-73. In the report it is stated that these are in characters of the 18th century A.D., which is wrong and misleading. No. 72 mentions the cyclic year Vikāri and hence can refer only to Śaka 1521 the last known date for Arasappa Nāyaka. The details viz. Kārttikā śu. 4, Thursday, may correspond to 1599 A.D. Sept. 13.

28. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, pp. 345-346, where a short history of the Matha is given.

29. Cf. *Ibid.* "On the invitation of the Sonda chief the twentyninth teacher settled at Sonda . . . . . Ārsappānik (1555-1598), the first chief of Sonda, drove out the robbers and built temples and a monastery and etc." p. 346.

30. PK., (B.S.S. No. LXXVIII), 1925, Part I, Intro., pp. xiiv.

31. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol. II, p. 18.

32. PK., (B.S.S. No. LXXVIII), 1925, Part I, Intro., p. xlvi.

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the PS. reveals beyond any shadow of doubt that the PS. was mostly based on Prasāda and in many cases quotes it *verbatim*. Hence a date later than that of Viṭṭhala has to be assigned to Mādhava Sarasvatī.

(g) Prof. Ghate refers to a manuscript of MB. copied in Śaka 1445 corresponding to 1523 A.D.[33] This gives the earliest known date for Mādhava Sarasvatī.

(h) Prof. Peterson's description of a manuscript of MB. as dated Saṁvat 1405, is incorrect. An early date as suggested by Prof. Peterson is unwarranted in view of the details of the date of the passing of Mādhava Sarasvatī given in a ms. of *SDK.*, which corresponds to May 14, 1560 A.D.[34]

Mādhava Sarasvatī has himself summarised his scholastic achievements in a single verse which is worth quoting for its deep significance.

Mādhavākhyasarasvatyāḥ
Sarasvatyāḥ sarasvatī |
Visvarāyā susvarāyāḥ
Sarasvatyāḥ sarasvatī ||[35]

33. *JBBRAS*, 1914, Vol. XXIII, p. 33.
34. Tri. Cat. Mss. Vol. IV, No. 3085.
35. *SDK.*, (T.S.S. No. CXXXV), 1938, p. 145.

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Hindu Festivals as Reflected in the Literature of Sur Das

BY

DR. S. P. SANGAR, M.A. (HONS.), PH.D.

Perhaps because of the fact that Diwali and Dasahra were connected with the life story of Rama, and not of his Lord, Krishna, Sur Das has not made any reference to the one, and has made only casual ones to the other. This is not the case however with his contemporary Hindi poets who have made a frequent mention of these two main festivals of India.

Dasahra fell due on the 10th lunar day of Asoj and was known by the name of Vijayadashmi[1] when Rama attained victory over Ravana. Dasahra signified the termintion of summer and heralded the beginning of winter. Dressed in their new costumes, the young and beautiful maidens took out processions of the newly sprouted plants of barley[2] and sang merry songs. They also worshipped the Sami tree.[3]

According to the Ain, it was a festival of the Kshatriyas[4] and it was regarded auspicious to embark on military expeditions on that day.[5] All the workmen availed of the day by worshipping their tools.[6]

The Mughal Emperors participated in the Dasahra festival at their court and held a review of the royal horses and elephants after they had been properly washed and groomed.[7]

1. *Ain*, iii, 352.
2. Kumbhan Das, 24-25; Parmanand Das, 205-8; Chaturbhuj Das, 28-30; Govind Das, 50-1. Cf. *Ain*, iii, 352.
3. *Ibid.*,
4. *Ain*, iii, 352.
5. *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Tr. Rogers and Bev., ii, 100-101; i, 245.
6. *Ain.*, iii, 352.
7. Jahangir's Memoir, ii, 176.

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Deepavali

Deepavali was another important Hindu festival celebrated even at the Mughal[8] court like so many other Hindu festivals. The celebrations took place on the Amavas of Kartika.[9] The main festival of Diwali was preceded by two minor celebrations, Dhan Teras and Rup Chaturdasi and followed by two more, Annakūtotsava and Bhai Duj.

All these celebrations take place in the Uttar Pradesh even today; in the Panjab Rup Chaturdashi and Annakutotsava are not known.

On Dhan Teras day ghee lamps were burnt and worship performed.[10]

Rup Chaturdashi was also known as smaller Diwali. It was perhaps preparation for the main festival and was connected with the cleanliness and decoration of the body.[11]

On the Annakutotsava they worshipped the cow, sang songs in its praise and made dainty and delicious preparations.[12]

Bhai Duj was important for the womenfolk when they applied tilak to the foreheads of their brothers, and sang songs praying for their long life.[13]

Sur Das is silent about the Laxmi Puja on the Diwali day, although some foreign travellers have made reference to this.[14] The Diwali being the festival of lights, there are references to the burning of lamps which have been likened to the shining of countless fire-flies in the night sky.[15] People were beside them-

8. *Ain.*, iii, 305-7; 353; Petermundy, ii, 146; Fryer and Roe, *Travels in India in the 17th century*, 309. Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, 42. *Hindu Mohammadan Feasts* by Ross, 18.

9. Preceding the main function there used to be annual white-washing and cleaning of house.

10. Kumbhan Das, 48. Parmanand Das, 251.

11. Parma., 225; 252. *Faiths, Fairs & Festivals* by Buck, p. 106.

12. Parma. 225; 278. Cf. *Ain.*, iii, 353.

13. Govind Das, 80.

14. Cf. *Travels in India in the 17th c.* by Fryer & Roe, p. 309.

15. Sur Sagar, 10-841; 10-809; Kumbhan Das, 51; Parmanand Das, 264.

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selves with happiness and every home was full of hilarious joy in the spirit of the occasion.[16] Ghee preparations were made as is the custom even today.[17]

In accordance with the ancient practice the people allowed themselves to go a bit free and indulged in gambling on the Diwali day.[18] Emperor Jahangir took special interest in this game. Not only did he take part in the game, he ordered his attendants to play it in his presence.[19]

Holi

Sur Das has given a vivid description of Holi festival in the Vrindaban of his day and has been amply supported by other contemporary writers. This description can be regarded as typical of the celebrations of the Holi festival in other cities of the Uttar Pradesh and other provinces as is the custom even today.[20] Abul Fazl calls Holi as the great festival of the Sudras.[21]

Holi signified the end of winter as well as the separation of couples and the advent of spring.[22] One author has termed Holi as the festival of God of Love.[23] The Holi festival witnessed a perceptible change in the atmosphere when the entire nature was full of rapture as it was the advent of Spring, the King of Seasons.[24] The birds sang a welcome royal to the Spring and cuckoo surcharged the atmosphere with its sweet melodies, providing inexpressible joy to the hearts of the young ladies. It seemed that the Vasant had arrived on the scene with a message of happiness for all and sundry.[25] Flowers refused to lag behind and gave

16. Kumbhan Das, 51; Parmanand Das, 262.
17. Kumbhan Das, 51.
18. Parmanand Das, 261. Cf. *Ain.*, i, 321.
19. *Jahangir's Memoirs,* Eng. Tr., i, 246.
20. For a general description of the Holi festival by the contemporaries see *Jahangir's Memoirs,* Tr. i, 245-46; Monserrate, 22; Manucci, ii, 154; Petermundy, ii, 219; Mandelslo, 58; also the following: Buck: *Faiths, Fairs & Festivals;* Gupte: *Hindu Mohammadan Feasts.*
21. *Ain.*, iii, 354.
22. Sur Sagar, 2851; Chaturbhuj Das, 73.
23. Parmanand Das, 331.
24. Chhitswami, 59.
25. Sur Sagar, 2843.

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a sweet reception to the new Season by the lovely smile so natural to them.[26]

For the young damsels it was verily a gala day when they spent a considerably good time on their make-up. They would attire themselves in the most attractive clothes suitable for the occasion. They would put on multi-coloured saris of tan sukh and other varieties, red or black cholis, necklaces and many other ornaments. As if all this were not enough, they combed their hair with considerable care, wore them in plaits, parted them in the middle, and marked the parting with vermillion. Then they appiled antimony to their eyes, completed the process of make-up, and declared themselves ready to face the day. They knew however that for that particular day something more tangible than all this was required. They would immediately get engaged to equip themselves with the full provision of red colour and coloured water and armed themselves with pumps. Thus after careful and proper preparations to enjoy the celebrations, the beautiful maidens of Braj would set out of their homes, singing in a festive mood, and reach the chowk of the city. They would find that the young of the other sex had already arrived there, with full equipment for the occasion, to play Phag with their 'opponents'.[27] The young men had sung their way to the chowk from their homes, and, like the girls, were equipped with red colour and water.[28] They looked attractive to the girls in their new clothes, with betel leaves in their mouths and tilak on their foreheads. They would give a broad smile to the girls trying to cover their breasts with effort.[29]

By this time rather the entire population of the city had stopped the daily routine of work and had wended their way to the chowk to participate in the Holi festivities.[30]

Then the game would start in right earnest. The opposite parties aimed their 'guns' at one another and the game of coloured water started. Every body got fully drenched, danced and shouted

26. Govind Das, 105.
27. Sur Sagar, 2449; 2851; 2860-61; 2866; Kumbhan Das, 63, 70, 71; Chaturbhuj Das, 71, 78, 80, 82; Govind Das, pp. 336; 340.
28. Sur Sagar, 2861; 2866; 2864. Kumbhan Das, 73.
29. Chaturbhuj Das, 78.
30. Sur Sagar, 2854.

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with joy, as if under the veritable grip of the god of love.[31] The gulal and abir were splashed on all faces[32] and the atmosphere became suffused with a particular smell. After perfect merry-making and thorough enjoyment, the young damsels were suddenly reminded of another fact. Quite a number of the shy ones of their sex, and usually confined to the four walls of the home, had not dared to come out for the celebrations. It was their sacred duty to fetch such ladies out of the purda. With betel leaves in their mouth, Bindi on their foreheads (become invisible by now), with pumps in hands and pitchers in arms, the young and beautiful damsels marched their way to the streets of Vrindaban. Hearing their songs and shouting, ladies belonging to the rich and too shy to dare out of their homes, would quietly slip out of their houses, taking with them coloured water and pumps and join the crowd in the streets. As if getting their scent, the young men also arrived on the scene and revived the game. This time the game was confined not to the sprinkling of coloured water. Seeing the men armed with staffs, the young maidens rushed to the nearby houses and brought from there full-length bomboos and accepted the challenge of the males. This act of theirs provided a signal for the resumption of 'hostilities' which had been suspended only temporarily. There raged then a battle royal between the members of the two sexes amidst the shouts of Holi Ho, Holi Ho. The opposite parties beat and pushed each other back.[33] The thorough absorption of the ladies in this game of thrill and joy made them completely oblivious of the fact that the strings of their cholis had become loose making them slip down.[34] This was hardly of any importance on this occasion. They knew full well that it was the advent of Spring and that they were under the full grip of Kama Deva, the god of Love, and that that occasion would come only once in the year. They gave themselves up completely to the joy of the moment and thrill of the occasion. The Holi festival released the hidden passions of even those women who were known for their shy and reserved natures.[35] They bade farewell

31. Nand Das, p. 338.
32. *Ibid.*, 2854; 2858; 2860; 2861; 2867; 2870.
33. Sur Sagar, 2854; 2870; 2872; 2873; 2881; 2889; 2893; 2899; 2890. Kumbhan Das, 74; 76; 79. Nand Das Pad., p. 337. Chaturbhuj Das, 92.
34. Parmanand Das, 334.
35. Sur Sagar, 2914.

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to their shyness and went to the extent of tearing off their clothes round their waists. In this work they received full help from the members of the other sex. Boys as they were, they became naughty with the girls and not only pulled at their cheeks, but loosened their angias broke their necklaces and twisted their arms.[36]

Kama Deva refused on this day to spare even the holy and the learned. He kindled in their hearts the sparks of passion which they had succeeded to stamp out with herculean efforts. They did not mind in the least to be 'attacked' on this occasion by the 'love-intoxicated' ladies, who, having slipped quietly out of their own houses, had been going in search of such persons.[37]

These ladies would wander in search of solitary and stray members of the other sex and in case one came their way, subject him to all sorts of sweet 'tortures', pulling at his cheeks and showering and planting kisses on him.[38]

Full of Holi spirit these ladies sang jhumak, Dhamar and Gauri songs[39] and danced[40] with joy. They even sang songs of merry abuses.[41] The men would also sing and play upon various instruments.[42]

They palyed Holi with such gusto in the streets and from the balconies that the houses of the rich and the poor became fully dyed with coloured water[43] and the streets became muddy.[44] So much gulal as well as abir was used that the clouds were dyed with red colour. It looked that the evening had set in.[45] They used moreover large quantities of powdered sandal-wood and camphor.[46]

36. Govind Das, 136.
37. Sur Sagar, 2904; 2914; Parmanand Das, 332; Chaturbhuj Das, 74, 92.
38. Sur Sagar, 2898; 2901.
39. Chaturbhuj Das, 80 ?; 85 ; 92.
40. Parmanand Das, 330.
41. Sur Sagar, 2854; 2860; 2868; 2876; 2881; 2878; 2900; 2910; 2889; 2895.
42. Parmanand Das, 343.
43. Govind Das, 112.
44. Sur Sagar, 2880; 2891; 2896; 2901; 2907-8; Kumbhan Das, 74; 79; Chatur, 85; 92; Govind, 124.
45. Sur Sagar, 2864; 2854; 2870-71; 2896; 2901; 2907; 2872; Kumbhan Das, 70; 72; Govind Das, 109-10, 114-15.
46. Sur Sagar, 2887; 2908.

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Being in playful mood the people rode on donkeys and enjoyed intoxicant alcoholic drinks.[47]

In the evening the youngmen and women would go to the banks of the Yamuna to play Phāg there. They splashed each other with Gulal and Abir, Chandan and Mrigmad.[48] The festival terminated with a dip in the Yamuna where they enjoyed water games.[49]

According to Ain, on the Holi occasion, fires were lighted and various articles thrown into it.[50]

At the end of the festival ladies would go to the houses of the rich and demanded Phaguā which comprised dry fruit, sweets, cooked preparations and even coloured saris.[51]

Janamashtmi

The birthday of Lord Krishna has been celebrated with enthusiasm by the Hindus throughout India. Being the great devotee of Krishna, Sur Das has made a special mention of the birth of his Lord.

Sur Das starts his description from the time Krishna entered the womb of Devaki transforming her colour into golden and rendering her idle and lazy. For eight months she drank water mixed with sandal-wood powder and in the 9th month camphor. His birth in the 10th month was accompanied by the blowing of Tur, a musical instrument.[52]

Hearing of the birth, the cowherds of Vrindavan came to the house dancing and singing with joy and showered blessings and congratulations on the household. They came with curd and grass on their heads and sprinkled curd on the ground.[53]

Overjoyed at the happy news, the ladies went to the house of Nanda, showering flowers in the way. They were ushered into the house to have a look at the new-born babe and give their

47. Sur Sagar, 10-2914.
48. *Ibid.*, 10-2854; 10-2867.
49. *Ibid.*, 10-2910.
50. *Ain*, iii, 353.
51. Sur Sagar, 10-2892; 10-2901; 10-2910; 10-2915; Parmanand Das, 335.
52. Sur Sagar, 10-4; 10-40.
53. *Ibid.*, 10-20; 10-24.

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blessings.[54] Then they persuaded the midwife to perform the vein-piercing operation, only after her reward in jewels and ornaments.[55]

This was followed by the performance of the Yajna and the worship of the twice-born.[56]

This is all by way of the description of Janamashtmi in Sur literature and we do not come across any thing approaching present celebrations of this important Hindu festival.[57]

Rama Navami

The word Rama Navami does not appear in Sur literature, although he does mention the fact of Rama's birth. There is no mention by him of the celebrations in connection with Rama's birth. That does not mean however that Rama's birth day was not celebrated by his devotees on as large a scale as today. The composition of Rama Charit Manas by Sur's great contemporary must have provided a great impetus to his devotees.[58]

Sur Das however does mention the fact of Rama's birth in Ayodhya and the congregation of a large number of people on the occasion. Sur Das regards Rama as an Avatar of God who took His birth to remove the ills of mankind.

The people of Ayodhya went about merrily on this happy and auspicious occasion.[59]

It can be inferred from this that the birth day was celebrated not only in Ayodhya but in all other places as well and Ayodhya's celebrations were typical in that way.

Rakhi

Although a number of contemporary poets have given a detailed description of this important Hindu festival, Sur Das makes

54. *Ibid.*, 10-24.
55. *Ibid.*, 10-25; 10-26.
56. *Ibid.*, 10-4.
57. Cf. *Ain*, iii, 352; Gupte, 95-96, *Hindu Mohammadan Feasts* by Ross, 47.
58. Abul Fazl holds testimony to the celebration of this festival by The Hindus, *Ain*, iii, 350.
59. Sur Sagar, 9-16. *Ibid.*, 9-17.

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only a passing reference to it. On this day the Brahmins tied a coloured cord round the wrists of their yajmans.[60]

The Mughal Emperors also celebrated this festival of the Hindus. The Hindu courtiers would tie round the wrists of the Emperors silken threads bedecked with precious stones.[61]

Sisters tied rakhi, a twisted cotton or silken thread, round the wrists of their brothers and sought their protection.[62]

Shiv Ratri

Sur Das has made no mention of this important festival, but Abul Fazl has made a reference to this. It was celebrated on the 14th of the dark fortnight of Phalghuna.[63]

According to the French Abbe Budois, Shiv Ratri was celebrated in the month of Māgh. The Hindus kept complete fast that day and offered puja to Shiv without having a wink of sleep at night.[64]

Besides the prominent Hindu festivals mentioned above, Sur Das has referred to a few others also.

They are: Ras; Dol; Ratha Yatra; Radhashtmi; Gopashtmi; and Sanjhi.

Ras was a festival of winter when men and women danced together collectively in imitation of such a dance between Lord Krishna and his Gopis.[65]

Dol was celebrated in the Phalgun month, Shukla paksha, of Spring when Krishna in the company of Radha and her friends enjoyed themselves in the swing.[66]

In the month of Asharha the Hindus celebrated the festival of Rath-Yatra. A procession was taken with Lord Krishna sitting

60. Sur Sagar, 10-1148-49. Cf. *Ain.*, iii, 351.
61. *Ain*, iii, 351.
62. There is no reference to this in Sur Das. Cf. Gupte, 178. *Hindu Holidays*, 178; *Hindu Mohammadan Feasts* by Ross, 65.
63. *Ain*, iii, 351.
64. Budois, 270; 708.
65. Sur Sagar, 1148; 1149.
66. *Ibid.*, 2919.

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in a beautifully decorated chariot having swift running horses. Krishna had on his head a turban, juhi garland round his neck, and Nil mani on his body.[67]

In honour of Krishna's first grazing of the cows they celebrated Gopashtmi day in the month of Kartik.[68]

Sanjhi Pujan, when pictures connected with the incidents in Krishna's life were drawn on the ground or the walls, was celebrated in the month of Bhadon.[69]

Sur Das has mentioned about other festivals which were not concerned with his Lord, Krishna. They were: Nrisingha Jayanti; Vaman Jayanti; Pavitra; Sawan Tij; Sanvatsar; Gangorotsava etc.

God Nar Hari manifested himself in the form of Nri Singh to save his devotee Prahlad from the iniquities of Hrinyakashyap. Sur Das makes reference to the celebrations of Nrisingh Jayanti.[70] He has mentioned the celebrations of Vaman Jayanti also.[71] Vaman is regarded as an Avatar.

Pavitra was a festival celebrated in connection with the birth of Swami Vallabhacharya.[72]

Sawan Tij was a festival of rainy season when young ladies enjoyed swinging or Hindola.[73]

Sanvatsar was celebrated in the month of Chaitra, Shukla Paksha, when the new year started.[74]

About Gangorotsava Sur Das has made no reference, though Parmanand Das and Nand Das have. It was a festival of girls who worshipped Gauri.[75]

67. Sur Nirnaya, p. 229; *Ibid.*, p. 12.
68. Sur Sagar, 411; 412.
69. Sur Das, Kirtan Sangraha, Part I, p. 161.
70. Sur Sagar, 7-2; 7-6.
71. *Ibid.*, 8-13; 8-14.
72. Sur Nirnaya, p. 230.
73. Sur Sagar, 2842.
74. Parmanand Das, 336; 761.
75. *Ibid.*, Kirtan Sangraha, Pt. I, p. 28. Nand Das, Parishisht. 47.

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A History of Agra

BY

Dr. Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

The original manuscript of a book styled as *"Tarikh-i-Tajganj Agra"* on the cover, which perhaps was the title given to it by its author, Sayyid Inayat Ali (as the name of the book is not traceable now), appears to be unknown to scholars and is in the possession of Dr. Nurul Hasan Hashimi of Lucknow University. It is not known whether any transcribed copy of this history exists anywhere else. The book, written in a tolerably good *Nasta'liq* character in Urdu with a sprinkling of Persian, with Urdu translation (size 9½″ × 5½″) runs into 600 pages, 15 lines a page. Scholars of Urdu may very well benefit themselves by going through this book as it amply reflects the gradual development of that language.

The manuscript is in a very damaged condition, worm-eaten, and the first twenty-five and the last thirty-five pages are difficult to read though the manuscript is complete nevertheless. Sayyid Inayat Ali, the caretaker of the Taj Mahal and its associated buildings, reduced to writing the fruits of his labour and researches in 1253 A.H. (1837 A.D.) in compliance with the wishes of the servants of the East India Company. The author was in the employ of the British Company and speaks of it with reverence. The book opens with an account of Mumtaz Mahal, the Lady of the Taj: *Nam unka Banu Bagam,* etc.

Archaeological Survey

The work is in the form of an archaeological survey of the buildings in and around Agra and compares very closely with the *Asar-us-Sanadid* of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The *Asar-us-Sanadid* deals with the monuments of Delhi, while the *Tarikh-i-Tajganj* deals with those of Agra and thus forms a valuable supplement to the former. The author has taken great pains in giving detailed measurement of the buildings which he has dealt with and the laborious details of the inscriptions noticed there. But the *Asar-us-Sanadid* is systematic and lucid while the *Tarikh-i-Tajganj* is haphazard and confused. Nevertheless, the facts are there and

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well-tested and may help a great deal in any scientific and sober study. The book is exceptionally rich in its account of the Taj Mahal—its stones, builders, expenditure, inscriptions and measurement of various parts.

Historical Notes

The author has given extensive historical notes on the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan and other members of the royal family, the last portion of which, dealing with the later Mughals, is of some importance as it is based on first hand knowledge. Regarding Nur Jahan-Jahangir episode, the author advances a new proposition that Jahangir, being highly indulgent, wanted to marry a *Padmini*—the best type of woman—and he was informed that Nur Jahan alone fulfilled the requisite qualifications. The author's explanation appeals better to logic than the so-called romance between Mehrun-nisa and Salim during their youth. Again, the author has also something to say about the Nawab-Wazirs of Avadh, beginning with an account of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula.

The book provides important material for a history of Agra in the first half of the nineteenth century. It deals with the Jat, Maratha and English occupation of Agra and gives vivid descriptions of the visits of Mahadaji Sindhia and Daulat Rao Sindhia to the English camp. It describes in detail the Agra of old days, its people, markets, fruits, climate, etc.

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Literary Value of the Inscriptions of Asoka

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR

Aśoka's inscriptions, which date from c. 264 to 242 B.C. constitute the earliest epigraphical literature in India. They are important and have been continuously and intensively studied during the last century and a half by a host of scholars and have supplied valuable information about the political, religious and cultural history of ancient India. Although numerous learned commentators have tried their intellect for the interpretation not only of the inscriptions as a whole but practically for each word occurring in them, there are still some words and expressions which are not satisfactorily explained. How they offer to scholars of Indian Linguistics an extremely fruitful field for research is well known. But the fact that Aśoka's inscriptions are by themselves precious literary pieces and are of importance for tracing the literary history of India is not so well-known. An attempt is made here to study them for their literary value.

There is no doubt that Aśoka himself was the author of the inscriptions. Among the numerous inscriptions drafted by himself he gives his title in various Prakrit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devānāṁ priya priyadarśi rājā* and in two places, in the Gujarra and Maski inscriptions, his personal name Aśoka is given. The name of the scribe, Chapada, is given only in one place. (Minor R.E. 2). The words *likhita, lekhita* and *likhāpita,* sometimes accompanied by the word *mamayā* (R.E. 455, 13 etc.) are frequently used in connection with the word *lipi* or *dhammalipi* which leaves no doubt that the authorship of the inscriptions goes to Aśoka himself. The language which sometimes contains personal narrative expressions is such as could not be used by any of his subordinate officers or court poets. The expressions of personal regret and rebukes to the local officers and the declarations come straight from the lips of the emperor.

As an enlightened Indian ruler he must have studied the course of prescribed studies in Sanskrit existing in his time. It is

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curious however to see that no where in all his inscriptions reference is made even remotely to any of the early Brahmanical works, of political, religious, social or literary nature, which must have existed in his time. That he had a good knowledge of Prakrit is quite evident. Like Sanskrit, which was an all-India classical language for literary purposes with the learned, Prakrit had by his time become a second all-India literary language worthy of being used in official records. Aśoka adopted it, not because it was a sectarian language as is wrongly supposed, but it had become a language midway between Sanskrit and the local dialects and was more widely known than Sanskrit. (*Oriental Thought* 2.26). It is suggested that the inscriptions were originally in Sanskrit and were translated into the regional languages as needed. But since Prakrit had been the language of the epigraphical records in those days, this suggestion cannot stand. There is no reason to doubt the existence in his time of the Arthaśāstra compiled with the help of older material on the subject by his grandfather's prime minister Kauṭalya, who seems to have obtained the name after Koṭala a village in the Panjab. Aśoka must have heard of this great man and might have read his work but he never mentions it though there were many occasions in his inscriptions for doing so. It is more curious that, while discussing mainly the ethical subjects in his edicts, he does not make the least mention of the great epic, the Mahābhārata, particularly when we find that the Hinduised foreign ruler Heliodoros of a slightly later date understood its value and actually copied in his Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription certain verses of ethical importance from the Strīparvan of the great work. The remarkable coincidence between those verses in the epic and a passage in the Besnagar inscription seems to be due to Heliodoros being a resident of Taxila, where Vaiśampāyana is said to have recited the epic to Janamejaya, and Heliodoros actually listened to it. (H. C. Ray Chaudhari, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*). Such close connection between the teachings of the Mahābhārata and that of the inscription would not be possible unless Heliodoros had felt a real admiration for the Brahmanical work. It is also well known that Aśoka had been intimately connected with the same place. Before he became king he had been a Viceroy at Taxila. In one of his inscriptions he refers to the posting of a viceroy at Taxila. An Aramaic inscription containing the usual designation Priya-

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darśin of Aśoka is found at Taxila (J.R.A.S., 1951, p. 346, E.I. 19.251) and another bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic dated when ten years of his reign had passed, is recently found at Kandāhāra in the same region. It actually refers to the teachings of Aśoka. (East and West, Vol. 9, No. 1 and 2). Good sentiments and ethical principles found enumerated in these records are an echo of similar ideas found expressed in the edicts already discovered in India. (R. G. Basak). Pāṇini who was born at Sālātura near Taxila knows of the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata and refers to Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhishṭhira, the main characters in the epic. (8.3.95; 4.1.106 and 4.3.98). He no doubt lived long before Aśoka. The Āśvalāyana Sūtra which seems to have been composed before the time of Aśoka also mentions both the Bhārata and the Mahābhārata which seem to have been two separate books at the time. It is strange that Aśoka does not make the least mention of it though it is a valuable work of both epic and ethical importance widely known.

It seems however that he had read the Bhagavadgītā. The use of the expression *divyani rupani* used in his inscription (R.E. 4) reminds us of the same expression used in the Bhagavadgītā (11.5). In fact, the word *divya* is very often used in his inscriptions. (8.8. & 10; 9.20; 10.12 & 16). Another expression *yogani yuñjan* which occurs in the latter part of the Gujarra edict is also found in the Bhagavad-Gītā. Was it accidental or Aśoka used it because he had read the Bhagavadgītā? Both the Bhagavadgītā and Aśoka refer to the great revolving wheel even now used at public fairs. Of course this is a common phenomenon and the idea may not have been borrowed by one from the other. Stories of Daśaratha, and his son Rāma of the Ikshavāku dynasty and of the Pāṇḍavas are alluded to in the Jātaka Gāthas, which must have existed in his time and which Aśoka, as a student of Buddhist literature, must have read. We have therefore reason to suppose that Aśoka had read the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata particularly the Bhagavadgītā, but in his enthusiasm for the spread of Buddhist learning and culture he forgot to refer to any Brahmanical work.

Aśoka seems to have studied some of the Dharmaśāstra literature existing in his time. The use of the word Chāturmāsya (Pill E.5) by Aśoka which is not found in the Buddhist literature

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nor in the Jain literature where the word Upasatha or Varshāvāsa has been used to denote the period of four months of the rainy season, also shows that he had read some of the orthodox works on Dharmaśāstra. In fact all the Buddhist teachers who wanted to show the superiority of Buddhism to the orthodox Brahmanical religion must have read at least the most important of the religious and ethical literature of the Brāhmaṇas. It is inconceivable that Aśoka had no knowledge of it. When Aśoka advises that a particular edict should be heard on Tishya Nakshatra days and also in the interval between Tisya, (separate R. E. Kalinga), it seems that he had not only full belief in astronomy but must have consulted astronomers at his court before he composed the passage. Similarly it is impossible for him to make a detailed list of more than twenty kinds of birds not to be slaughtered, (P.E. 5) unless he had read the older Dharmaśastra literature on the subject.

There is no doubt, however, that Aśoka had regularly studied the Buddhist literature existing in his time and the selections from it of seven Buddhist texts which he had made and which in his opinion were necessary for study by all the Buddhist monks and laymen, show his critical acumen. These important Buddhist texts which he had mentioned in the Bhābrā rock edict have been regularly traced to the Buddhist canon. Even by casually mentioning a list of the important early Buddhist works in one of his inscriptions Aśoka has done valuable service to the history of the Buddhist literature. What a great service he would have done to the history of Sanskrit literature if he had just mentioned one or two older Brahmanical works in his time!

It is true that no regular attempt seems to have been made by Aśoka to arrange the contents of the records in a systematic or logical manner or to polish the language as a master of literature would do. Apparently they do not appear to be of literary impor-

1. The list moreover is important for the literary history of the world. It can be said to be the oldest literary catalogue in India and the second in the world the earliest one being the literary catalogue containing titles of thirty-one compositions consisting of hymns, epic tales and Lamentations incised in the earliest cuneiform characters dated about 2000 B.C. on clay tablets found in excavations in Sumeria and now preserved in the Pencylvania University (Krammer, *Sumerian Tablects*, p. 12).

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tance for want of the usual literary embellishments. They may not pass the fastidious test of a critique. But still the general effect which the inscriptions live on the mind of the reader is like that of a literary piece of a standard Sanskrit or Prakrit poet in India than that of a monk's sermon or a ruler's proclamation. They no doubt show that Aśoka was a man of wide intellectual interest. As A. C. Sen states (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. viii). "In spite of its being occasionally a little hesitating in its flow Aśoka's language has a remarkable stateliness which quite pleases us." The inscriptions show that Asoka was not only a great and noble-minded emperor but was a learned, well-informed, enlightened and poetically gifted man like some of the later rulers in India. Aśoka's inscriptions therefore occupy a unique place not only among Indian epigraphical records but among human documents in general. Aśoka's language is appealing and the words selected are simple, sweet and pithy though at times they are rugged. They are used in such a way as to produce resonānt and other sound effects. The sentences are short, simple and effective. Simplicity of Aśoka's prose recalls the prose of the Upanishads and of portions of the Mahābhārata. The Upanishad—like repetition of an idea in the same words and expressions or in those of the same meaning to ensure firm grasp of the subject is noteworthy. Such stylish expressions displaying great merit are particularly seen in the Pillar edicts. Aśoka himself states that such kind of repetition is necessary for the sweetness of the teachings and for the direct appeal to the people to follow the teachings (R.E. 14).

The sweet melody, homely style, depth of feelings and details of facts are remarkable and pleasing. The inscriptions seem to be studied compositions and are not like routine official circulars. The delineation of the noble principles that inspired him has almost an autobiographical touch.

The use of the terms like *katham*, *kiti* in the middle of the sentence to simplify the subject gives it somewhat an appearance of a dialogue so well known in early religious literature. The narrative style of beginning with such expressions are *atikantam antalam bahuni vasasatani* and referring to old customs and manners sometimes used to remove strain of the preaching is pleasant.

Use of archaic and unusual words and expressions are a special feature of Aśoka's writings. Many of the peculiar and

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technical words used by him are generally not met with in any earlier or later Indian literature in the peculiar sense in which he meant it. In fact no literary work of this kind is known to exist in India. It is for this reason that inspite of the sustained efforts of numerous commentators the derivation and meaning of some words are not yet known.

The colloquial expressions which come straight from the lips of the emperor should not be translated literally. It seems wrong to translate literally the expressions *diyaḍhamate* and *satasahasa*. The term *diyaḍhamate* is not to be taken as meaning one and a half. The expressions *diyaḍhamate panasa-satasahase e tupha apaude satasahasamane tata hate bahutevatake* etc., occurring in the R.E. 13 (Kālsi) is literally translated by scholars to mean that one lac of persons were killed in the Kalinga war and one and a half lac of persons were deported. But from the use of the term diyaḍhamate in some other edicts of Aśoka himself it seems that it is to be taken in a general sense as meaning "many" only. In the Sahasram edict the expression *diyaḍhiyam vipulam* is used in which the word *vipulam* is qualified by the word *diyaḍhiyam*. The latter cannot mean one and a half but must mean much or many. Similarly the term satasahasa is not to be taken as one hundred thousand but should be taken to mean as hundred and thousand ultimately many. The individual word *sata* no doubt means 'hundred' and the word *sahasa* means 'thousand.' But the expression Satashassa is not to be taken to mean one hundred thousand but one hundred and one thousand. It may be seen that the combined word is used in three different contexts in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In one it refers to animals killed for food in the royal kitchen, in the other it refers to persons killed and deported in the Kalinga war and in the third it refers to the people who were under the charge of the Rajuka. In all the three contexts the idea of a lac of them would produce extreme exaggeration. In the case of the Rajuka how can a fixed number of persons be placed under his charge? Therefore the term should be taken to mean hundred and thousand and not one hundred thousand.[2] The term should better be generally trans-

2. I am thankful to Dr. A. M. Ghatge M.A., PhD., of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Studies, Poona, for kindly suggesting me this solution. I also state that though the expression hundred-thousand is not now in vogue

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lated as 'many'. The expression in the third case means only that a number of people were under the charge of a government official. It seems that in Aśoka's time the expression one and a half and two and half times (used in the Brahmagiri edict) were colloquial expressions like the modern expression twice or thrice, or *dīḍa śahāṇā, aḍhāi dina kā jhopaḍā, sāḍe tīna* or *aṇṭa ghaṭakā*, etc.

Certain conventional qualities like the similes and metaphors normally expected in a literary piece may be missing in the inscriptions. The alliteration in the unusual string of epithets *devānāṁ piye piyadasi* or *nahi sarvatra sarvaṁ ghaṭitaṁ* may not be intentional but it is effective and pleasing. The expression *jīvena jīve no pusetaviye* appears like a beautiful Subhāshita and seems to be a retort to the Mahabharata passage in the mouth of Arjuna *jīvo jjīvati jīvena nāsti jīvamajīvitaṁ*, etc., in the *Bhīsmaparvan*, v. 32. But still Aśoka's way of drawing some fine similes from every day life of a simple people like the following *athā hi pajaṁ vīyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti hevaṁ mana lajukā kaṭā*, etc., reminds us of the upamās in the Bhagavadgītā *yathā nedīnāṁ* etc., and *yathā pradīptaṁ jvalanaṁ* etc., (11.28 & 29). We have therefore to give to Aśoka much credit for originality. All this shows that Aśoka was not ignorant of the poetical devices of the rhetoricians.

The inscriptions give a concrete and comprehensive picture of the life and work of Aśoka and of the society he holds before us as Bāṇa's Harshacharita does of Harshavardhana and his times. The picture is full of life and at the same time ennobling. The every day and ceremonial experiences, religious beliefs and social customs of a simple people of ancient India are sympathetically narrated. The inscriptions speak of his early life and family, brothers and sisters, queens and harem and relatives. But it is curious that he never refers even distantly to his father or grandfather, who were more than ordinary persons. His insistent pleading with his people for conformity with the law of piety cannot but have a lasting effect on the mind of the reader. In fact it seems that in his writings poetry, ethics and historical narration

the expression hundred-five hundred (*Śeṁ Pāṁchaśe*) is still in vogue not to speak of the expression, *śeṁ savāśe* and *śeṁ doneśeṁ*.

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were flowing in complete unison, and we find in him a wonderful combination of a great sovereign, devoted missionary, inspired poet and a critical historian. It can very well be said, therefore, that Aśoka occupies one of the highest places among Indian authors of literary compositions.

His inscriptions are the earliest *praśastis* in India. They are in Prakrit, like other early Prakrit inscriptions. Their authorship and date are beyond dispute. Aśoka's inscriptions have the elements of a *praśasti* though apparently they look like edicts or śāsanas. The object of a *praśasti* is generally to give a glowing description of the political achievements, the noble qualities and the philanthropic actions of a ruler. The enumeration of his achievements, political, religious and utilitarian and of his noble qualities therefore give his inscriptions the appearance of a *praśasti* though it was done by Aśoka himself. Aśoka's noble deeds are graphically described in detail (P.E. 2 & 7). His philanthropic actions and donations are duly recorded (in the Barabar cave inscription) though in a form slightly different from that we see in later *praśastis*. His warlike achievements are slightly touched in a polished garb. The epigraphical formula which was highly developed in later epigraphical *praśasti* literature is seen in its elementary form in his inscriptions (Stain, Haraprasad Sastri Comm. Vol. and Pande, Ind. Paleog. p. 115). He can therefore justly be said to be the earliest epigraphical poet.

Aśoka's inscriptions seem to have influenced some of the later rulers of India. Khāravela before composing his Hāthigumphā inscription seems to have read them and imitated him in some points. The epithet Dharmavijaya used by some kings of the early centuries of the Christian era by Śaka Shridharavarman in the North and by some early South Indian rulers of the Kadamba, Pallava and Ganga dynasties seems to have been copied from Aśoka. (Successors of the Satavahanas, p. 171).

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The Legitimacy of Skandagupta's Succession

BY

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D.

The legitimacy of Skandagupta's succession to the Gupta throne is a matter of great doubt amongst scholars and much has been written about it. Dr. Dasaratha Sharma has recently published his views against this opinion in this *Journal*.[1] He thinks that there is no substantial evidence to disprove the legitimacy of Skandagupta's succession.

He has pointed out that the chief ground that has been adduced seriously by the scholars to disprove the legitimacy of Skandagupta's succession is the failure of the Gupta records to mention his mother's name as *Mahādevī*. And he has cited authorities to emphasise that the seniority of the birth and not the seniority of the mother was the chief consideration for the succession to the throne in ancient times as well as in recent days in the states of Rājasthān. So, he stresses that it is not necessary to give importahce to the non-mention of a king's mother as *Mahādevī*.

What has led the scholars to think that *Mahādevī* meant the chief-queen, is not known to us. But the fact remains that no where in the Gupta records, the word *Mahādevī* is used in the sense of chief-queen. All the Gupta records have used this epithet whenever they referred to the mother's name. We have no evidence as yet to say that all or any one of those queens, that are mentioned in the Gupta records, were the chief-queens of their husbands. It is a mere assumption.

The Nālandā seals of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta III show that Narasimhagupta was the son of Purugupta from Chandradevi, who is called *Mahādevī Śrī Chandradevī* on the seal of the former[2] and *Mahādevī Chandradevī* on the seals of the latter.[3]

1. Vol. XXXVII, Part II, p. 145-152.
2. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, p. 66-67.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

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There is a seal of Budhagupta from the same site, which shows that he was also the son of Purugupta.[4] His mother's name exists on the seal; but cannot be clearly read. However, this much seems to be certain that she was different from Chandradevī.[5] This seal is fragmentary; and unfortunately the words preceding her name are missing. Though we cannot definitely say that the name was preceded by the word *Mahādevī*, we may well infer that the line containing the name of Budhagupta's mother had the word *Mahādevī*, preceding her name, by counting the letters that each line originally contained. Thus we come to khow that Purugupta had two wives and both were called *Mahādevī* on the seals of their sons.

However, we would not rely only on this dubious evidence. There are other records which conclusively show that *Mahādevī* never meant a chief-queen. The Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatīguptā has preferred to trace her genealogy in her inscriptions from her father Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty; and she has followed the tradition of the family of her father and has used almost the same phraseology of the Gupta records in narrating it. And in that context, she has referred to her mother Kubernāgā as *Mahādevī*.[6] And we already know that Chandragupta II's another wife was Dhruvadevī; and she is called *Mahādevī* in the records of her children.

Really speaking, the epithet *Mahādevī* was a term of reverence for the queens, irrespective of their rank. However, whatever may be the significance of the word *Mahādevī*, it is nowhere involved in the present context.

It is not the question of the seniority of his mother, but the conspicuousness of the omission of his mother's name is pointed out from his own records.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
5. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIX, p. 274.
6. *Mahārāja Śrī Ghaṭotkachastasya satputro Mahārāja Śrī Chandraguptastasya satputro....Lichchhavidauhitro Mahādevyaṁ Kumāradevyamutpanno Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudraguptastatputrastatpāda parigrihītaḥ....Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptasya duhita Dhāraṇa sagotrā Nāgakulasambhutāyaṁ Śrī Mahādevyā Kuberanāgāyamutpanna....Śrī Prabhāvatīgupta.*
Poona Copper Plate. *E.I.* XV, p. 41ff.

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Neither the primogeniture nor the seniority of the mother was the consideration for the succession to the throne in the Gupta dynasty. The preference of the father for any one of his sons, for whatever reason it may be, seems to have been the only factor that counted for any prince to ascend the throne. We know that Chandragupta I nominated Samudragupta as his successor in preference to other princes;[7] Chandragupta II is claimed to have ascended the throne by the choice of his father.[8] This means that his father had put aside his elder brother Rāmagupta.

If these instances, that are before us, reflect any tradition of the Gupta dynasty, we need not go deep into the question of the seniority or the juniority of his mother for Skandagupta's right to the throne. Without being the son of the chief-queen or even the eldest son by any other queen, he could have succeeded to the throne legitimately, had his father preferred him. But evidence is completely lacking on this point. Neither we have any declaration from Kumāragupta I to this effect like that of Chandragupta I, nor have we any expression from Skandagupta himself, like that of Chandragupta II, to indicate that the choice of his father had fallen upon him. The phrase *pitri-parigata-pādapadma-vartī*, that he has used for himself,[9] does not convey the sense in any way that he was the favourite of his father. It, rather, reflects his own anxiety to show that he was attached to his father.

In the absence of any evidence on the point that his succession was approved of or favoured by his father, the omission of his mother's name from Skandagupta's own records, makes us more suspecious about the legitimacy of his succession to the throne. The instance of the omission of the names of the queens, cited by Dr. Raychaudhury, to which Dr. Sharma has pointed out to defend this omission is in no way analogous to the omission that we find in Skandagupta's records. It should be viewed in the light of the traditions that prevailed in the Gupta dynasty itself; only then the significance of this omission would become more prominent.

7. Allahabad Pillar Inscription, l. 4.
8. *talparigrihīta*, mentioned in all the genealogies.
9. Bhitari Inscription, l. 7.

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We find the tradition amongst the Gupta rulers to mention the name of their father and mother both together in their records. It began with Samudragupta. He is described in the Allahabad pillar inscription as *Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta prapautrasya, mahārāja Śri Ghaṭotkacha pautrasya, māhārajādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta putrasya, Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya mahādevyāṃ Kumāradevyām-utpannasya Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Samudragupta.*[10] The same is repeated in the Bilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I with the addition of *Samudraguptaputrasya Mahādevyāṁ Dattadevyamutpannasya svayampratirathasya paramabhāgavatasya mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta-putrasya mahādevyaṁ Dhruvadevyam-utpannasya mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kumāraguptah.*[11] Again Kumāragupta I's grandson Budhagupta adds to it in his Nalanda seal — *Kumāraguptastasya putrastatpūdānudhyāta mahādevyāmanantadevyāṁ-utpanno mahārājādhirāja Śrī Puruguptastasya putra [statpādānudhyāta Mahādevyāṁ Śrī] Mahā(?) devyāṁ-utpannah [mahārājadhirāja Śrī] Budhaguptah.*[12] Similarly on the Nalanda seal of his brother Narasimhagupta, we have *mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Puruguptastasya putrastatpādānudhyāto mahādevyāṁ Śrī-Chandradevyāmutapannah paramabhāgavato mahārājadhirāja Śrī Narasiṁhaguptah.*[13] The Bhitari and Nalanda seals of his son Kumaragupta III further add to it *Śrī Narasiṁhaguptastasya putrastatpādānudhyato mahādevyaṁ Śrīmitradevyām-utpanna paramabhāgavata mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kumāraguptah.*[14] Lastly his son Vishṇugupta adds to it in his Nalanda seal *Kumāraguptastasya putrastatpādānudhyāta [mahādevyaṁ ..... devyām-utpanno] mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vishṇuguptaḥ.*[15]

Thus we find that the tradition of mentioning the names of father and mother both together, once started by Samudragupta, was honoured by the rulers that preceded Skandagupta and also by all those who followed him. In this light when we look to the exception created by Skandagupta by omitting the name of his mother, it seems highly significant. All the more, when we see

10. Lines 28-29.
11. Lines 3-6.
12. Lines 5-8.
13. Lines 5-8.
14. Lines 7-8.
15. Lines 3-4; *E.I.* XXVI, p. 235.

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that he did not ignore the tradition altogether but followed it with all precision, in giving the names of all his forefathers and "foremothers" in the Bhitari pillar inscription till he comes to the name of his father.[16] He has used exactly the same phraseology that we have in the records of earlier and later rulers of the Gupta dynasty. In the same vein, it is expected from him that he should have introduced himself first, following the tradition, as *Kumāraguptastasya putrastatpādānudhyāta mahādevyām* (the name of his mother) *utpanno mahārājādhirāja Śri Skandaguptaḥ*, before eulogizing himself with all the qualities that he possessed or the great deeds that he did.

But his behaviour seems to be very strange, when we find him that after mentioning the name of Kumāragupta I, he goes straight to proclaim himself *suto-ayam* (I am his son). The bye-passing of the mother's name in this way, in his record, is against the tradition. It cannot be explained as simple omission by accident. It is undoubtedly deliberate and shows that Skandagupta was shy of his mother and did not feel pride in claiming himself to be her son. No other conclusion can be drawn from this that his mother was neither an *agra-mahishi* or chief queen nor a *mahishī*.[17] There could be no other reason why one should not be proud of his mother. This makes it clear beyond doubt that Skandagupta had no natural claim to the Gupta throne; and inspite of all his affections, Kumāragupta I could not favour, him as his successor; nor Skandagupta could claim for himself 'the choice of his father'.

Augmenting his plea in favour of Skandagupta's legitimacy to the Gupta throne, Dr. Sharma has drawn our attention to his two titles *Vikramāditya* and *Kramāditya* occurring on his coins. He has cited authorities to show that the terms *vikrama* and *krama* had significant meanings in the context of succession. According to those citations *krama* means *pitri-paitāmahika rājya*, which

16. Lines 3-6.

17. Dr. A. L. Basham has drawn our attention to a strange and little noticed passage in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription stating that he was raised to Arya status by the panegyrics of bards (*bandaka-jano yaṁ prāpayatyāryatāṁ*) (l. 15). This suggests that he was the son of a humble sudra concubine. (*B.S.O.A.S.*, XVII, p. 368-69).

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Dr. Sharma interprets as 'succession to a kingdom by inherited right; and *vikrama* is valour. He explains that these titles were used by Skandagupta to remind the people not only the valorous deeds which saved the empire from succumbing to the inroads of the Huṇas and Pushyamitras, but also his right to the throne by inheritance.

No doubt Skandagupta deserved to be elevated as a national hero for the reason of his deeds; and it was quite appropriate for him to have the tite of *Vikramāditya*. But this has no bearing on the present problem. It is quite possible that by adopting this title, he might have been impressing upon the people that his valourous deeds were such that he deserved the throne; or that he might have been proclaiming that though he was not the rightful claimant of the throne, he had won it by his *vikrama* (valour). We know that he had to struggle for the throne against some princes, before he could attain it. This has been admitted in unambigious terms in the Junagarh rock inscription.[18]

If the title *Kramāditya* meant to proclaim what Dr. Sharma has suggested, then instead of strengthening his case, it weakens it much more. No instances are known, where a rightful successor to the throne had ever felt the necessity to beat drum like Skandagupta that he was the rightful successor. If Skandagupta felt the necessity for publishing and proclaiming that he had come to the throne by his right of inheritance, it shows nothing but that there was some thing fishy about him; and that he was anxious to make the people believe that he was the rightful successor of his father. However, to us, *pitri-paitāmahika rājya*, which is implied by the word *krama*, meant 'the kingdom that belonged to father and grand-father i.e. that had been in the family for generations; and Skandagupta might be just suggesting that he was occupying the throne that belonged to his family for generations and not that he was the rightful occupant of the throne. He only meant to show that he was not a usurper.

It would not be out of place to point out that the title *Vikramāditya* is not found on any of his gold coins. The title *Kramāditya* is known only on those coins, which are of heavy weight

18. Line 5.

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standard of 144 grains and belong to the latter part of his reign. His earlier coins, which are of light weight standard of 136 grains, have no title for him. He is simply called by the name Skandagupta on the reverse, where we invariably find the title of the issuing ruler. This indicates that this title was not adopted at the time of his accession; but it was an after-thought, in all probability to pacify those, who did not believe in his rightful succession. Like the gold coins, the Bhitari pillar inscription, which has the words *vikrama and krama*[19] and which has been interpreted by Dr. Sharma to mean the same thing as on the coins, does not belong to his early reign; but it is of a period, when he was well established after crushing the enemies. As such, it does not differ in any way from the gold coins.

The line *krameṇa buddhyā nipunam ..... Lakshmih svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakāra* of the Junagarh Inscription has been interpreted by Dr. Sharma as meaning 'Lakshmi took his *krama* and *buddhi* into consideration before choosing her lord in preference to other claimants'. In the light of his interpretation he may well point out, against what he have said above, that *krama* was used even in the beginning of his reign. But to us *krama* and *buddhi* has nothing to do with Skandagupta. It concerns Lakshmi suggesting the method of her own decision. But even if we accept Dr. Sharma's interpretation, it does not detract us to any other conclusion. It may be pointed out here that the silver coins that bear the titles of *Vikramāditya* and *Kramāditya* are those that were issued in the western part of his kingdom, i.e. Malwa and Saurashtra;[20] and not on those that were issued in the eastern part,[21] near his capital. It is easier to pacify men at distance by telling a lie than those, who are near and are liable to know the truth easily. That may be the underlying reason behind the adoption of these titles on the coins and the inscription of Saurashtra.

Lastly, Dr. Sharma does not think that there was any interval between the death of Kumāragupta I and the succession of Skandagupta and he does not postulate any possibility of the war of suc-

19. Line 9.
20. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 251-256.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 257-58.

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cession. There had been for a time long the belief that Purugupta's reign intervened between them. The possibility of Ghaṭotkacha-gupta being one of the contending rivals for the throne against Skandagupta has been hinted by Dr. D. C. Sircar[22] and we have discussed the problem in detail in two of our papers and have pointed out that his place could only be immediately after Kumāragupta I.[23] Here it would be sufficient to show that an interregnum is possible between the reigns of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, where a third ruler could have stayed for some time.

It is almost universally held that Kumāragupta I did not die until the Gupta year 136. And the same is the earliest date for Skandagupta according to Junagarh Rock Inscription. So, Dr. Sharma has suggested that almost immediately Skandagupta succeeded Kumāragupta I. This view, however, entirely depends on a unique silver coin of Kumāragupta I, which is said to have the date 136. As far we know, the coin in question was last seen nearly sixty-five years ago by Dr. Vincent Smith in a private collection.[24] He stated that it had a well preserved date; but apparently, it has not been examined since then and its present whereabouts are unknown to us.[24a] Dr. A. S. Altekar seems to take no cognizance of this coin. He does not mention the date 136 amongst the dates known from the coins.[25] Dr. A. L. Basham also declines to accept its evidence, even if it ever existed. He considers, that it might be a posthumous issue. He points out that even in the present time, coins may be issued in the name of the dead king for some months after his death; and in the troublous times of Skandagupta's accession the master of a provincial mint might well continue to issue coins in the name of the former king even longer.[26] Such instances in the Indian numismatics are not un-

22. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 299, f.n. 1.

23. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXII, p. 316; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XIV, p. 99.

24. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894, p. 175.

24a. Recently, during our visit to London, we had an occasion to see the coin collection of the Late W. Vost. There we noticed a coin of Kumāragupta I, ascribed with the date 136. Most likely Smith had referred to this coin. But to us the date was not clear and we were unable to read the date 136 on it.

25. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 230.

26. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVII, p. 367.

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known. Gold and copper coins of the Mughal emperor Akbar are known of the Ilahi year 51,[27] while he was already dead several months before the beginning of the year 51. And these issues are not of any distant mints. The Gold coin belongs to Agra, the capital town and the copper coins to Gorakhpur. As such the posthumous nature of the coin can well be postulated and it may be suggested that Kumāragupta I might have died a year earlier. If we do not attach any importance to the dubious evidence of the coin, there is an open field for an intermediate ruler between Kumāragupta and Skandagupta.

But even if we admit the evidence of the coin, it should not be ignored that the initial date of the Gupta year was the first day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra and Kumāragupta would have died some time later than this date in the year 136; and only after that Skandagupta would have ascended the throne, if he succeeded Kumaragupta I immediately. The Sudarsana lake burst that year on the 6th day of the month of *Praushthapada*, i.e. Bhādrapada, only four months and twenty-one days had passed in the year when this event took place.

If just like Dr. Sharma, we take the word *atha* in the sentence that begins *atha kramenāmbudakāl āgate* and gives the date of the bursting of the lake,[28] as meaning *after that*, then it will have to be presumed that Skandagupta had accomplished all those feats that are narrated in the earlier lines of the Inscription, within a period, which would have been much less than four months and twenty-one days. These feats of Skandagupta were: on the death of his father he subjugated the whole earth by his own power; his glory spread over the country of the Mlechchhas; he appointed *goptris* (protectors) for the various lands he conquered; he had to think long before he could find a right person for Saurashtra. And when *Parṇadatta* was appointed, he in turn, presumably on reaching his province, appointed his son Chakrapālita to look after the city. And the latter made the people happy by 'conversation accompanied by smile and by presents of honour, by encouraging unrestricted mutual visits etc.'

27. *Catalogue of the Coins of Mughal Emperors in the British Museum*, p. 34; *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V. 163.
28. Line 15.

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Giving all that is due to poetic exaggerations, it is highly improbable that all these would have been accomplished within the short period of 'much less than 4 months and 21 days' with whatever efficiency and speed the works might have been carried out. Really speaking *atha* does not mean here *after that;* it only indicates that a fresh topic is being narrated. As such there is nothing to suggest that Skandagupta had ascended the throne before the bursting of the lake.

On the other hand, the repair of the lake was only possible in the summer when the bed was dry. And we are actually told that it was undertaken next year in 137 in the first fortnight of the month of Graishma and was completed within two months, i.e. before the arrival of the rains, in the month of Ashāḍha. This means the work was undertaken in the beginning of the month of Vaishākha. Several months before this date, Skandagupta would have already come to the throne, only then it could have been possible for him to do all that are described above. This shows that Skandagupta might have come to the throne in 136 but not in any case in the early part of that year.

Therefore, it may well be suggested that Kumāragupta I might have died in the early part of the year 136, if the coins of that year are believed and Skandagupta might have come to the throne in the later part of the year; and in between the two there would have been a period of a few months when a third ruler would have intervened.

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Kotela Copper Plate Inscription of Bhojadeva Saka Year 1126

BY

Balchandra Jain, M.A., *Sahityashastri*

This is one of the two copper plates which were found buried in the ground by the late Thakur Buddhusingh of mouza Kotera in the Balod tahsil of Durg district of Madhya Pradesh, in the year 1882 (?) when he was digging earth in his field at that village. It remained with him, together with the other plate till his death in 1959 when both the plates passed in succession to his son Thakur Nepal Singh who showed them to one of my friends, Shri Vitthal Rao Kangle and also allowed him to prepare the eye-copies of the inscriptions.

The discovery was then brought to my notice by Shri Kangle who wanted me to decipher the records. Accordingly, I requested the Sub Divisional Officer, Balod, to acquire the plates and send them to me for decipherment. It was only through the good efforts of that officer that the present plate and the other one belonging to the time of Mahārāṇaka Malugideva, were acquired and presented to the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur, where they are now in deposit. The first plate is edited here from the original plate and ink-impressions prepared by me.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. It measures 20·5 cms in breadth and 12·5 cms in height. It weighs 406 gms. The edges of the plate are thickened and slightly raised to give protection to the writing and the corners are rounded off. The inscription consists of 10 lines and is in a very good state of preservation. The letters are well-formed and deeply engraved. The *Characters* are Nāgarī and the record is in Sanskrit prose throughout. It shows the usual *orthographical* peculiarities such as the substitution of s for ś and v for b.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka Samvat 1126 or A.D. 1204. It refers to the reign of Mahārāṇaka Bhojadeva who was hailed as having obtained the five great sounds. It is a business docu-

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ment executed at Vāloda, apparently the same as present Balod, and records the lease of a village named Koṭelā in favour of a wealthy person, Tāmā. The village is said to have belonged to four persons, (probably brothers) namely, (1) Padumatāti, (2) Bhāskara, (3) Rāghava and (4) Sahadeva who were paid 600 coins against the leasehold value. The coins (Āchhus) which had the stamp-mark of a *makara* or crocodile, were current in the market by the name of *daśarūpaka*. The village was leased for twelve years and during that period, all rights concerning the use of water, mango and madhūka trees and the grassland within the boundary limits of the leased village were to be enjoyed by the leaseholder. The witnesses for this transaction were the Thākura, Vāsudeva, Gainta Āha, Tāmrakāra Deṇḍala, Tāmrakāra Nāndu and Gainta Maivara. Prime Minister Mālha and Rāṇaka Viśvapati were present on duty when the transaction was made. The draft was written by Paṇḍita Delhaṇa.

The record does not give the genealogy of the ruling king, probably because it is a business document and not a royal grant. But, the titles Mahārāṇaka and Mahā-pañcha-śabdābhinandita however indicate that Bhojadeva was a feudatory and acknowledged the suzerainty of another mightier king who may be Pratāpamalla, son of Ratnadeva III, the Kalachuri overlord of Ratnapura. The earliest known date of Pratāpamalla is Kalachuri Samvat 965 or A.D. 1214, when his Pendrabandha plates were issued[1] wherein it is stated that though a boy, he was a second Bali in strength. This suggests that Pratāpamalla came to the Kalachuri throne while quite young, some time near 1200 A.D. His father, Ratnadeva III was ruling in the Chedi Samvat 933 or A.D. 1181-82 as known from the Lakhanesvara temple inscription at Kharod (Bilaspur district),[2] but may not have continued till 1204 A.D. when the present plate was engraved.

As regards the identity of Bhojadeva as a ruler of Durg district in the early thirteenth century, I am inclined to identify him with Kumāra Bhojadeva of the Sahaspur statue inscription of the (Kalachuri) year 934 or A.D. 1182[3] and Bhoja, son of Bhīma

1. *CII*, Vol. IV, part II, No. 101, pp. 543 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 100, pp. 533 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 115, pp. 595-96.

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mentioned in the Mandava Mahala Stone Inscription, about half a mile from the Bhoram Deo Temple near Kawardha (district Durg).[4] The first mentioned inscription is incised on the pedestal of a statue intended to represent king Yaśorāja[5] and mentions Kumāra Śrī Bhójadeva, as one of the two princes of Yaśorāja. As Yaśorāja is known to have been ruling in 1182 A.D., his elder son Bhojadeva seems to have succeeded him in about 1200 A.D. This finds support from the present plate which was written in A.D. 1204.

In the Mandava Mahala Inscription, Bhoja is said to be a son of Bhīma who was great-grandson of Khāḍgadeva, grandson of Bhuvanaikamalla and son of Arjuna. We further know from the same inscription that Bhoja's grand-uncle was Malugideva and that the former was succeeded by Lakshmaṇa, a son of the latter. A copper plate of the time of Malugideva, found together with the present plate is dated in Śaka Samvat 1106, informing thereby that Malugideva was ruling in circa 1184-85 A.D., while the date of Bhojadeva as known from the present plate is 1204 A.D. This however suggests that Bhoja's father Bhīma was a contemporary of Malugideva and since a king named Yaśorāja whose elder son was one Kumāra Bhojadeva, was actually ruling in 1182 A.D.,[5] it is evident that Bhīma of the Mandava Mahal Inscription and Yaśorāja of the Sahaspur statue inscription are identical. Jasarājadeva of the Boria statue inscription[6] may also be identical with Yaśorāja of the Sahaspur statue if the date 1110 on the former as read by Cunningham in one place[7] is correct and is referred to in terms of the Saka era. In that case the date would be equivalent to 1188 A.D. But if the date is read as 910 and is referred in terms of the Kalachuri era,[8] it would correspond to 1158-59 A.D. This would be too early for Yaśorāja whose known date is 1182 A.D.

The name of the dynasty to which Bhojadeva belonged was Phaṇi or Nāga vaṁśa as mentioned in the Mandava Mahal inscription. The inscription which is dated in Vikrama year 1406 (A.D. 1349) gives the legend of the origin of the Phaṇi or Nāga

4. *List of Inscriptions in CP & Berar* (2nd Ed.), No. 305, pp. 174-177.
5. *CII*, Vol. IV, Part II, No. 115, pp. 595-96.
6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 111-112, pp. 585-86.
7. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 45.
8. *A.S.R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 44; *CII*, Vol. IV, Part II, page 585.

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family and mentions a number of kings who were born in that family. One of them named Bhuvanaikmalla is said to have constructed a temple of Śiva, the same as the present Bhoram Deo Temple. This Bhuvanaikmalla was the great-grand-father of Bhojadeva, and since the latter was ruling in 1204 A.D., the date of the construction of the Bhoram Deo Temple may be about 1140 A.D. and not 1280 A.D. as thought by Dr. Sant Lal Katare,[9] whose opinion was based on the statement of the Mandava Mahala Inscription according to which, Rāmachandra was ruling in V.S. 1406 or A.D. 1349 and two generations of rule intervened between him and Bhuvanaikamalla. But, as stated by late Dr. Hiralal the accuracy of the chronology as given in that inscription, is however doubtful.

Bhoja is said to have been succeeded by Lakshmaṇa, son of his grand-uncle Malugideva. Lakshmaṇa's son was Rāmachandra. He built a Śiva temple in V.S. 1406. In view of the fact that Malugideva and Bhajodeva were ruling in 1184-85 and 1204 A.D. respectively, it appears that there is some mistake in the date mentioned in the Mandava Mahal Inscription.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the record, Vāloda is the same as present Balod in the Durg district. Koṭelā is identical with Kotera, the find spot of the plate, situated in Patawari Circle No. 83 in the Balod tahsil, 24 kms from Balod.

Text[10]

Om[11] swasti Śrī Śāke samvat 1126 adyēha Śrī Vālaudāt samastaprasa (Śa) stopē-

tamahāpanchaśavdā (bdā) bhinanditamahārāṇakaśrī-Bhojadeva

tatpādopajīvī pradhana-Malha Ra Śrī-Vesvapatau[12] Vyāpāram Kurvvati

etasminsamaye Vartamāne dhaniko Tāma namakṛ (Ke) na Padumatāmi tathā Bha-

9. I.H.Q., Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 2 & 3, p. 90.
10. From original plate and my ink-impression.
11. Expressed by a symbol.
12. Read Viśvapatau.

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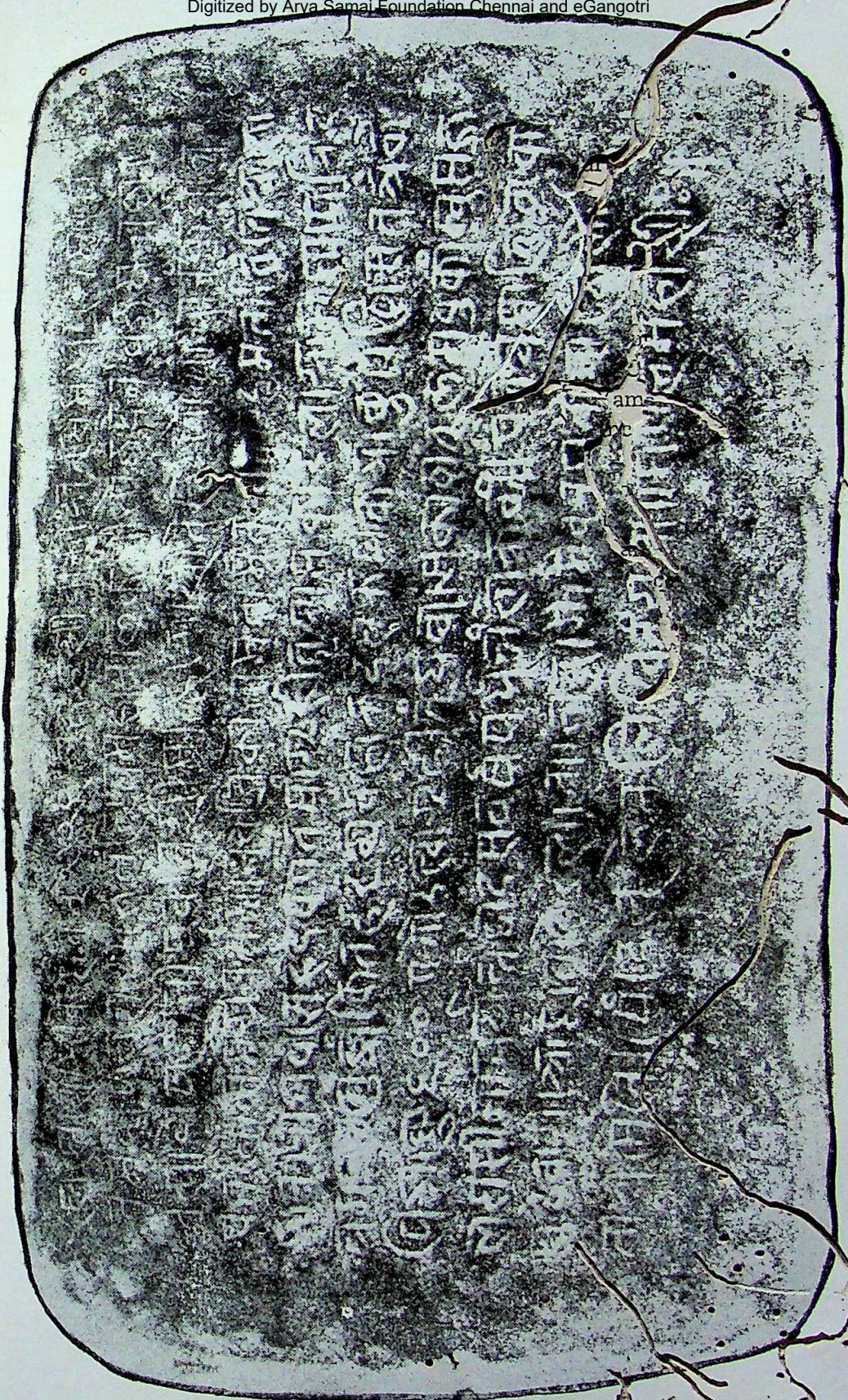

KOTELA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHOJADEVA, SAKA 1123

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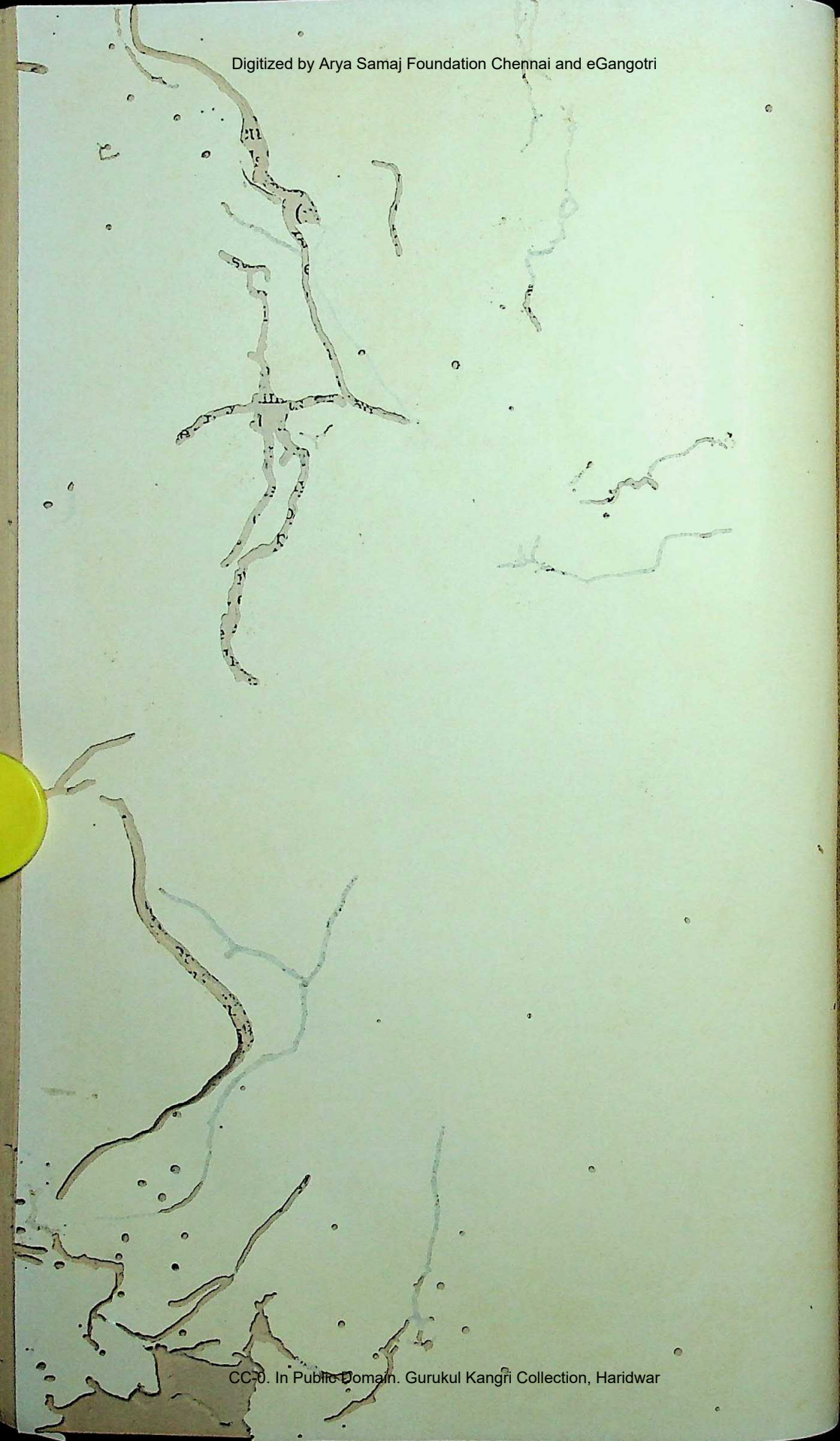

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stha? ra[13] Rāghava Sahadeva eteshāṁ gṛihītam grāma Kotelā grāmasyāpari[14] da-[15]

tta makaramudrāṅkita haṭṭavyavahāradasarūpaka āchhu Shashṭi Sata anke.

pi āchhu 600 etau dattvā gṛihītam yathā Sakāsatṛiṇamadhukaṁvrasajja-

lasasīmāparyantadvādaśavarshaparyantaṁ bhoktavyaṁ eta [da *] rthe sākshi Tha Vā-

Sudeva Gai Āha Ta Deṇḍala Ta Nāndu Gai Maigara[16] etau Sākshiṇau su (śru)-

tārthamiti Paṁ Dolhaṇena likhitaṁ yathā mangalaṁ mahāśrīh

13. Read Bhāskara.
14. Read grāmasyopari.
15. Read dattaṁ.
16. May be read as maighar or maighana also.

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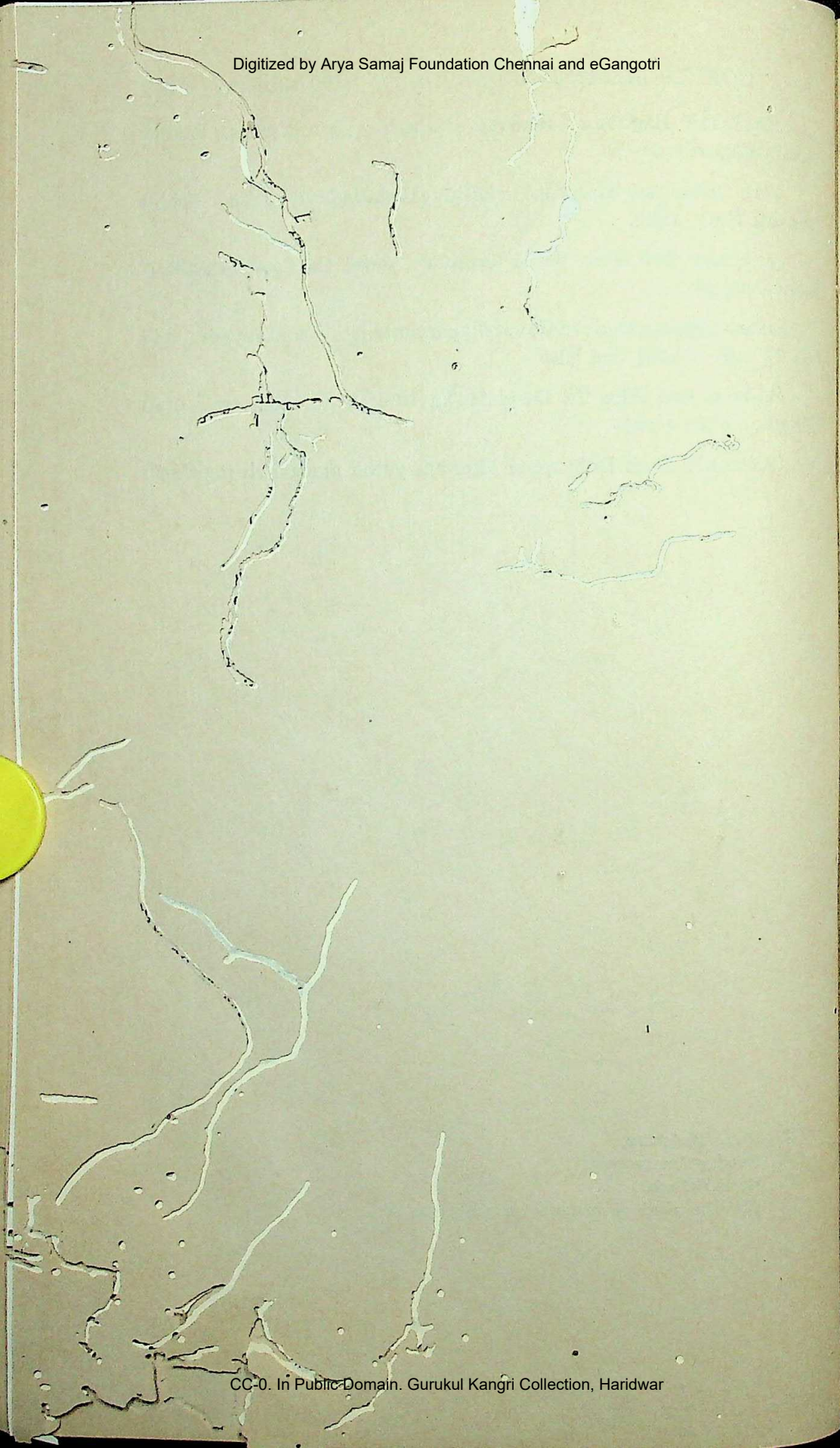

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Story of the 'Burqa'[1]

BY

RAMESH CHANDRA, M.A.

It was Akbar, gifted with a strangely rational mind, who gave many things very symbolic names—names signifying the true nature of the thing concerned. One such name was "Chitragupta"[2] which is the name given to the Munshi of god Yama in Hindu mythology and he is also regarded to be the ancestor of the Kayasthas. But Akbar was not concerned with this mythological appellation; he just took the literal meaning of the word and applied it to an important item of the dress of the Muslim ladies. This name, a compound of 'Chitra'—meaning a 'picture', and 'Gupta'—meaning 'secret', was very appropriately given to 'Burqa', which, actually, hides the charming figures of Muslim ladies, when they go out!

The story of the 'Burqa' is not a simple one. In fact, it is the story of the institution of 'Parda', a principal institution of Indian society after the coming of Islam. What this institution meant to the Muslims is clear from the following observances of the seventeenth century European travellers to India:—

"The Mohometans, who have most wives and women, are most jealous, and their jealousy such as that they will not suffer the brothers, or fathers of their wives to come to them or to have any speech with them, except it be in their presence".[3]

".....Mahomedans are most extraordinarily distrustful upon this chapter; and what deserves mention is that some do not even trust their own brothers and do not permit their women to appear before them, being jealous of them.[4]

1. Long garment used for the seclusion of Muslim women when walking out. For a description see *Hughes—Dictionary of Islam*, p. 95.
2. Abul Fazl—*Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 90.
3. Terry—*A Voyage to East India*, p. 283.
4. Manucci—*Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 452.

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Whether it was out of jealousy, as these foreigners thought, or anything else, it is clear that by 'Parda' the Muslims understood the seclusion of women from the company of men. It is quite evident from the privacy attached to the female apartments, which were, as a rule, away from the male apartments. Direct access to them was not possible;[5] even a message had to pass through three intermediaries before it could reach the desired person in the 'Zenana'.[6]. The houses were built with high walls and no dwelling place could be built in a particular locality overlooking others. During the Nizamat of Nawab J'affar Khan, an English factory chief wanted to erect two and three storeyed buildings near the Hughli. The Muslims objected to it and the building work was stopped by the orders of the Nawab.[7] Even elephants were not allowed to pass by the side of the houses without information.[8] In fact, peeping inside the house through a wall was considered a serious crime. Sher Shah's eldest son was once punished for peeping into the house of a citizen while passing on his elephant by the latter's house.[9] Entry of men in the female apartments was strictly regulated.[10] They had to give previous

5. The female apartments could be reached through a zigzag passage, such as one finds in the Jodh Bai's palace at Fathpur Sikri or in the Jahangiri Mahal in the Agra Fort.

6. This zigzag passage must have been occupied and guarded by various officials, who must have acted as the intermediaries, between the outsiders and the inmates of the Harem. For such arrangements see Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

7. Ghulam Hussain Salim—*Riyaz-uz-Salatin,* translation, p. 31.

8. Ratan Nath Dar 'Sarshar'—*Fisana Azad,* translation, Vol. II, p. 651.

9. A. L. Srivastava—*Sher Shah and His Successors,* p. 81.

10. In this connection it is interesting to note the Quranic injunction which permits a relaxation of the rule of the 'Parda' and makes exceptions in the case of near relations with whom marriage is not lawful:

"And do not reveal their adornment save to their own husbands or fathers or husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their brothers' sons or sisters' sons, or their women or their servants, or male attendants who lack vigour (i.e., eunuchs), or children who know naught of women's nakedness." *The Quran,* XXIV, 31.

Further, the Quran also provides clear instructions with regard to the admission of minor boys and minor servants inside the family quarters:

"O Ye, who believe! Let your slaves, and those of you who have not come to puberty, ask leave of you at three times (before they come into your presence): before the prayer of dawn, and when ye lay aside your

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information, so that the inmates of the 'Zenana' might go behind the 'Parda'.[11] Even asking anything from the ladies was considered improper.[12] Male physicians were not allowed to visit sick ladies. Once a Hindu slave-girl of Bahram Shah, the Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore, fell ill and the physician insisted on examining her person and feeling her pulse before giving medicine. The Sultan was very much upset at the situation and it was with great difficulty that he allowed the physician to have a look at her face and arms, 'if they were not far exposed to his view.[13] Later, a curious device is said to have been found out to avoid such a situation. A handkerchief was rubbed all over the body of the female patients. Then it was put into a jar of water and by its smell the doctor judged the cause of the disease and prescribed medicine.[14] Not only this, in places like gardens separate arrangements were made for ladies.[15]

Its observance was very strict. Even a temporary neglect in this regard may amount to divorce. We have on record the case of Amir Khan, the governor of Kabul, who had no scruple in renouncing his wife, who saved his life at the cost of the 'Parda'.[16] People did not dare check the covered carriages carrying ladies and challenge anyone going in 'Burqa'. Once Mirza Kamran, the

raiment for the heat of the noon, and after the prayer of night. Three times of privacy for you. It is no sin for them or for you at other times, when some of you go round attendant upon others (if they come into your presence without leave)". *Ibid.*, XXIV, 58.

"Even so, the male members of the family are advised to keep an eye on those who visit their families and to satisfy themselves that they are a harmless company, before they are formally introduced to their womenfolk", Malik Ram Baveja—*Woman in Islam*, p. 11.

11. Regarding this the Quranic advice is as follows:

"O Ye who believe! Enter not houses other than your own without first announcing your presence and invoking peace upon the folk thereof. That is better for you, that ye may be heedful." *The Quran*, XXIV, 27.

12. "And when ye ask of them (women) anything, ask it of them behind a curtain. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts." *The Quran*, XXXIII, 53.

13. Ashraf—*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, p. 140.

14. John Marshall—*John Marshall in India*, p. 328.

15. In the Shalimar garden at Kashmir a section surrounded by other pavilions is said to have been reserved for the ladies.

16. Sarkar—*Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, pp. 159-161.

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brother of Humayun, made good his escape wearing a 'Burqa' for he knew it was safest to do so.[17]

How it came to be adopted is interesting to note. The heathen Arabs, it is said, used to perform the circuit of the great temple at Kaba naked, while at prayer, for they believed that gods had created men naked and therefore they had to appear naked before their gods. The Prophet abolished this old custom and commanded that men and women must cover their bodies, while offering prayer at the Kaba, with two pieces of cloth. Afterwards when he heard of some misbehaviour of certain men towards women he gave the following command—"Say to the believing men to cast down their looks and guard their chastity; this will be pure for them",[18] that is, a man, when facing a woman after the first look which is natural and harmless, must not stare at her once again with passionate eyes but control his passions by casting down his eyes. Likewise, women were asked "to cast down their eyes and guard their chastity and not to display their adornments except what appear (such as on their hands and feet)."[19] Further, women were asked to throw their head covering on their bosom, instead of on the back, because it attracts the attention of men.[20] This revelation, A.M.A. Shushtery thinks, must have been the beginning of what came to be known as the regular 'Parda' system among the Muslim women,[21] for later it was prescribed for them:

"O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of believers to draw their cloaks (Jalbab) close round them (when they go out). That will be better, so that they may be recognised and not annoyed."[22]

It was also commanded that a portion of the cloth should cover their head and hang over the face. Thus, it is clear that 'women when going out must cover themselves with a large cloth

17. Badayuni—*Mutakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 391.
18. *The Quran*, XXIV, 30.
19. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 31.
20. "And to draw their veils over their bosoms." *Ibid.*
21. A. M. A. Shushtery—*Outlines of Islamic Culture*, p. 514. However, some authors think that here the Quran only lays down a principle that 'one should refrain from all forms of display and show'—Baveja—*op. cit.*, p. 9.
22. *The Quran*, XXXIII, 59. 'Jalbab' is a long piece of cloth which the women of Arabia put on over their clothes—Baveja—*op. cit.*, p. 15.

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and not display their forms and, further, they should allow the cloth to hang over their faces.'[23] Thus the 'Burqa' has divine commands and must have soon been adopted by the 'believing women'. However, strict 'Parda' system is said to have become popular after the fall of Baghdad and the rise of the Mughals and Timurids in Iran and India. During this period, partly owing to the inclination of the Mughal rulers and partly owing to the insistence of the orthodox section, who became very powerful and laid emphasis on the complete seclusion of women, the present 'Parda' system became effective.[24] For Timur, having captured Delhi, issued an order prohibiting Muslim women from showing themselves to strangers and directed them to travel in covered conveyances.[25] And Akbar made it obligatory that "if a woman was found running about the lanes and bazaars of the town, and while so doing either did not veil herself, or allowed herself to become unveiled, was to go to the other side and become a prostitute."[26] However, Firoz Tughlaq was the first Sultan, who made regulations against women moving out and visiting tombs,[27] Amir Khusroe also considered the seclusion of women necessary for maintaining their chastity.[28] Thus it is clear that the 'Parda' was institutionalised in India before the advent of the Mughals. And the state played a significant role in making it obligatory.

This scrupulous regard for 'Parda', naturally, makes one curious to go still deeper into the factors that were responsible for it. For one thing, it may be passed as a matter of habit, for the Muslim women in their homelands, especially Persia, had been living in 'Parda' for a long time before they came to India. It is not easy to give up a habit once formed. Besides, it could not be expected that they could have come out of their age-old seclusion in a strange land, where they might have a natural feeling of insecurity and aversion to face strangers. For whatever social

23. Baveja—*op. cit.*, p. 15.
24. Shushtery—*op. cit.*, p. 514.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Badayuni—*op. cit.*, Vol. II, trans., p. 405.
27. Elliot and Dowson—*History of India as Told by Her Own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 380.
28. Ishwari Prasad—*History of Medieval India*, p. 519.

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intercourse there might have been between the Hindus and the Muslims, it was confined to men, and womenfolk of the two communities remained strangers to each other.

The proverbial Muslim jealousy about their wives, frequently referred to by contemporary foreign travellers and stressed upon by a modern historian of Muslim society,[29] which prevented even near relations to have a look at 'the fair damsels of the family,' may seem strange to us. But in view of the prevailing outlook of the medieval Indian Muslim society the reason for it would be quite clear. The idea of 'Parda' was mingled with the conception of female chastity. In fact, 'Parda' became a synonym for female chastity, which could only exist with a total absence of relations with the outer world. Hence the advice that if a woman wanted to be perfectly free from any suspicion or criticism, she had better observe 'Parda'.[30] For under the prevailing social conditions a husband was most unlikely to marry one who had enjoyed the liberty of social intercourse, thereby damaging her mortal reputation.[31] What an extraordinary burden of responsibility on a father of a girl![32] No wonder they came to dislike daughters.

The relation of 'Parda' to the rules of marriage seems to be still closer. For 'Parda' is to be observed by women especially when they are inclined towards marriage or eligible for it; once beyond that state or age, they are at liberty to discard it, but it is better if they retain it.[33] Thus in view of the custom of early marriages, as soon as a girl reached the age of puberty, or even earlier, she began to observe seclusion and adhered to it throughout the prime of her life. Even in old age she did not enjoy the

29. Mohammad Yasin—*A Social History of Islamic India,* p. 122.

30. Ashraf—*op. cit.,* p. 143, f.n. 1.

31. *Ibid.,* pp. 142-143.

32. Notice Amir Khusroe's command to his daughter—"Daughter, keep your eyes fixed on the wall and while spinning at the wheel do not have the impudence of casting your glance at the door behind." This clearly reflects a father's misery at the birth of a daughter.

33. "As for women past child-bearing, who have no hope of marriage, it is no sin for them if they discard their (outer) clothing in such a way as not to show adornment. But to refrain is better for them. Allah is Hearer, Knower." *The Quran,* XXIV, 64.

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liberty granted, because of the life-long habit of living within 'Parda'.

"The underlying idea behind the institution of 'Parda," opines Ashraf, "is the exclusion of Na-mahrams (those who can marry) from each other." For "the fear always lurked in the minds of the old people that without such restraints Na-mahrams might go wrong through mutual contact, and this might lead to a contracting of marriage without their consent."[34] In fact, even a look on Na-mahrams was abhorred. Muhammad Tughlaq was very scrupulous when he entered the harem so that his eyes did not fall on a Na-mahram fell on them![36], Thus 'Parda' was not only an assu- his slave girls in closed and locked conveyances lest the eye of a Na-mahram fell on them![35] Thus 'Parda' was not only an assurance for female chastity, but also worked as a potential instrument in the hands of the elders for the effective exercise of their authority over juvenile youngsters. It also meant a very restricted scope for social intercourse for Muslim ladies even within their own fold, for 'beyond a few specified degrees of prohibition, namely consanguinity and affinity, fosterage and some other special cases all are Na-mahrams.[37]

34. Ashraf—*op.cit.*, p. 142.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 143. For that sometimes led to serious complications. Mirza Hindal broke relations with Humayun, when the latter, having seen Hamida Banu in his mother's palace, insisted of marrying her—Bulbadan Begam—*Humayun Nama,* trans., pp. 149-151.

36. Ashraf, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

37. The Quran prohibits marriage with following categories of women:

"And marry not those women whom your fathers married, except, what hath already happened (of that nature) in the past. Lo! It was ever lewdness and abomination, and an evil way.

"Forbidden unto you are your mothers and your daughters and your sisters and your father's sisters and your brother's daughters and your sister's daughters and your foster mothers and your foster sisters and your mothers-in-law and your step daughters who are under your protection (born) of your women unto whom ye have gone in—but if ye have not gone in unto them, then it is no sin for you (to marry their daughters)—and the wives of your sons (who spring) from your loins. And (it is forbidden unto you) that ye should have two sisters together, except what? hath already happened (of that nature) in the past. Lo! Allah is ever forgiving, merciful.

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Very soon seclusion came to be regarded as a sign of respect and nobility. Not only did the higher classes have their particular arrangements for keeping their ladies behind the 'Parda', but even the commonest Muslim did not appreciate the idea of ladies moving out uncovered.[38] Hence, "the Muhammadan women always go veiled when they appear abroad."[39] In fact, this moving out was very rare, for moving out except on special occasions and that too with elaborate arrangements and previous permission (in the case of princesses) was considered derogatory. Whenever aristocratic ladies came out they were carried in closely covered palanquins surrounded on all sides by servants and eunuchs.[40] And when royal ladies came out, specially in a procession, God forbid, none dared pass on the road.[41] If a Muslim lady of rank discarded 'Parda', the consequences were disastrous.[42] They were "housed together in the enclosures surrounded by high walls,"[43] which were securely guarded.[44] They were called the 'Zanana' or the 'Harem'. Access to them was regulated and no wonder that Bernier advised to avoid "a too near approach to the ladies of the seraglio, in the royal camp."[45] Ordinarily they did not come out of the harem and take part in public life, even if it was quite essential for their status in public life. Out of the many ladies, who played not an insignificant role in politics—mostly as regents of their minor

"And all married women (are forbidden unto you) save those (captives) whom your right hand possesses. It is a decree of Allah for you. Lawful unto you are all beyond those mentioned." *The Quran*, IV, 22, 23, 24.

The relaxation of the 'Parda' prescribed before a few categories of male relations. See reference 10.

38. It was in accordance with the Quranic revelation:

"And stay in your house. Bedizen not yourselves with the bedizement of the Time of Ignorance (Pre-Islamic Days)". *The Quran*, XXXIII, 33.

39. Hamilton Alexander—*A New Account of the East India*, Vol. I, p. 163.

40. Mandelslo—*Travels*, p. 51; Bernier—*Travels*, p. 413.

41. Tavernier—*Travels*, p. 135; Manucci—*op. cit.*, p. 333-34.

42. Case of Amir Khan's wife and Akbar's regulation cited earlier.

43. Palsaert—*Jahangir's India*, p. 64.

44. For other details about the dwellings see the III paragraph.

45. Bernier, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

45. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p. 374.

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wards, probably two, Razia[46] and Nur Jahan,[47] could break the 'Parda' convention and come out freely in public, without caring the least for wide-spread public disapproval.

Thus the 'Parda' was imposed upon the Muslim women from the very beginning of Islam and by the time they came to India they had definite traditions of 'Parda', which was imposed with all the more vigour and orthodoxy here. It became a definite habit with the Muslim ladies, who adopted the 'Burqa' with all meekness, thus guarding their person against looks- good or bad, but at the same time looking at the world unnoticed.

46. Minhaj—*Tabqat-i-Nasiri,* translated by Raverty—Notice objections of the nobles, when Iltutmish nominated Razia 'although a daughter and veiled from public gaze', as his successor instead of his grown up sons—p. 638. When Razia assumed sovereignty, ".....it so chanced to happen that Sultan Razziyat laid aside the female dress and issued from seclusion, and donned the tunic, assumed the head-dress (of a man) and appeared among the people, and when she rode out on an elephant, at the time of mounting it, all people used openly to see her", p. 643.

47. "With her usual boldness she tore the convention which relegated her sex to seclusion in the east. She came out of the Pardah, saw things with her own eyes and commanded in public", Beni Prasad—*History of Jahangir,* p. 159.

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Some Aspects of Early English Trade with Western India (1600-1650)

BY

Dr. B. G. Gokhale

The port of Surat on the western coast of India figures prominently in the development of early English trade in the country. It was at Surat that the first English ships arrived soon after the formation of the East India Company. In 1609 Captain William Hawkins arrived on the '*Hector*' at Surat and proceeded from there to Agra to seek an agreement with the Emperor Jahangir to ensure favourable conditions for English trade in India.[1] Inspite of initial difficulties in establishing an amicable and continuously harmonious relationship with the local authorities at Surat, English trade 'throve' and by 1620 had assumed a form sufficiently significant to influence the economic history of Western India. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine closely the nature and extent of this trade and to analyse its influence on the economic history of Western India during the first half of the 17th century.

It has been generally assumed that the real impact of English trade in India was first felt in Eastern India and especially in Bengal. Though the beginnings of this impact are traced to the early part of the 19th century, it was not until the middle of that century that this impact becomes significant enough to be reckoned as a factor in the economic transformation that determined with the political relationships in the country. Considerable work has been done on the subject of the economic history of Bengal and the

1. See *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies*, 1612-14, ed. by William Foster, (London, 1934), Pp. X-XII.

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adjacent areas in the context of foreign trade.[2] Western India, however, has not been so fortunate in attracting significant notice from economic historians. The reasons for this are many. First of all, the period during which Western Indian trade largely assumes importance was the time when the Mughal Empire was at the zenith of its power. The Great Akbar had his first personal political encounter with the Portuguese in 1573 when he met the Portuguese envoy, Dom Antonio de Noronha.[3] Between 1580 and 1594 Akbar entertained as many as three Jesuit missions from Goa and the motives on both sides of the encounter were partly political. The reigns of Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shah Jahan (1628-1658) have been generally described as the noon-time of the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb's vigorous annexationist policies in Western India were evidence of the strength of the Mughal empire though discerning observers then could not have failed to recognize signs of the impending doom casting its lengthening shadows over that impressive edifice. But it is contended here that, inspite of its brilliance and obvious strength, the economic foundations of the Mughal dominions in Western India were already being affected throughout the 17th century. Secondly, it may be argued that even though English trade first began in Western India, it was not until the beginnings of English operations in the Eastern areas of the country that the real economic impact of England on India was felt. After all, the rich agricultural areas lay in Oudh, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal and it was only when English control over these areas was secured that the real economic revolution in Indian history could be said to have begun. But, as will be shown in what follows, the transformation began much earlier, and that too in Western India, when the English took over the control of India's foreign trade, not only with Europe, but also in the Red Sea-Persian Gulf and the Southeast Asian areas. The economic history of Western India in the context of foreign econo-

2. See e.g. Sinha, N. K., *Economic History of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1956; for a study of early English trade with the Far East, see Bassett, D. K.: "The Trade of the English India Company", in the Far East, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1960, pts. I & II, III & IV, Pp. 32-47, 145-157.

3. Abul Faze, *Akbarnama*, The History of India as told by its own historians, The Muhammedan Period, translated by Elliot, H. M. and ed. by Dawson, J. (Calcutta, 1959), Pp. 42-43.

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mic penetration should, therefore, be examined much more closely than has been done hitherto.

Some 18 years after the formation of the East India Company in 1600, there were English factories at five places in India and four of these were in Western India namely, at Ahmedabad, Burhanpur (in Khandesh), Broach and Surat.[4] The English also set up trading posts, staffed with agents at Baroda, Nausari, Ghoga, Dabhol, Cambay and several other places.[5] Inspite of numerous difficulties created by adverse Mughal policies and opposition of traders at Surat, the English trade prospered and led to an increasing English control on the mercantile life of Western India throughout the half century under review.

II

During the opening decades of the 17th century Western India carried on a rich trade with the Red Sea area as well as places in Southeast Asia. Indian merchants frequented Mocha, Busra, Achin and other places selling their cargoes in these areas during the rainy season in India and returning to India during September-November each year.[6] The main products of the Mughal Empire which found a ready outlet in exports were indigo, cotton, wool, silk, carpets and calicoes and other sundry items.[7] Besides these, spices carried to Surat from other parts of the country as well as from Southeast Asia were exported from Surat. Thus on March 6, 1619, Thomas Kerridge at Surat asks William Martin at Broach to buy sixty maunds (about 1950 lbs. avoirdupois) of cardamoms without delay.[8] From about 1618 onwards, tobacco also

4. *English Factories in India*, (1618-1621), A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office, edited by William Foster, (Oxford, 1906), p.v. These will be hereinafter abbreviated as *EFI*, and serially noted as follows: *EFI*, 1618-21 as I; *EFI*, 1622-23 as II; *EFI*, 1624-29 as III; *EFI*, 1630-33 as IV; *EFI*, 1634-36 as V; *EFI*, 1637-41 as VI; *EFI*, 1642-45 as VII; *EFI*, 1646-50 as VIII. These volumes were published in Oxford at the Clarendon Press between 1906 and 1914.

5. *Ibid.*, I, p. 291; III, 158 and 230.

6. *Ibid.*, I, p. 27; also see *EFI*, 1665-1667, p. 5.

7. See Wheeler, T. W. and Macmillan, M., *European Travellers in India*, (First Series), (Calcutta, 1956), p. 2; also *EFI*, I, p. V.

8. *EFI*, I, p. 76.

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figures prominently in the list of cargoes sent by the Company. This is certainly a new crop in Indian agricultural history. Tobacco seems to have been unknown to Akbar's officers. It reached India probably through the Portuguese and was first established in Gujarat where it is noticed for the first time in 1613.[9] The Mughal policy was adverse to the use of tobacco as Jahangir prohibited smoking in 1617 but this had little effect on the spread of the habit, since by the time of Aurangzeb, it had become a general habit. And thus, as Moreland points out, a new and profitable commercial crop had been established.[10] There are numerous references to the export of Indian tobacco on board the English ships and it must therefore be supposed that the cultivation of tabacco in Western India had already assumed a significant form of economic activity by 1620.[11] Among the other goods, mention may be made of sealing-wax, turmeric, gum-lac and green ginger.[12] But the most usual goods sent to England were "drugs, spices, rawsilk, indigo and calico".[13]

As for England's trade in India, the widest scope existed for luxury goods. Muqrab Khan advised Sir Thomas Roe that the English carried "too much cloth and bad swords and scarce anything else, and therefore advised to forbear two or three years, and rather bring such rarities as *China* and *Japan* afforded, which would be more acceptable; and from England the best cloth of gold and the richest silks wrought with gold and silver, but above all a good quantity of Arras hangings".[14] England exported considerable quantities of woollens, tin, lead and quicksilver, ivory from Africa, coral from the Mediterranean, amber from the Baltic, swordblades and knives and jewels for which the largest market was the Mughal court.[15] Sword-blades were much in demand

9. Moreland, W. H., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb,* A Study in Indian Economic History, (London, 1923), p. 158.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
11. *EFI,* I, pp. XV, 92.
12. For an interesting list of merchandize ordered to be brought for export from Surat at Ahmedabad, Agra, Lahore, Broach and Baroda in 1621, see *EFI,* I, p. 235.
13. Mun, Thomas, *A Discourse of Trade* from England unto the East Indies, 1621, (Fascimile text, New York, 1930), p. 5.
14. *The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe,* (London), p. 632.
15. *EFI,* III, p. XXXV.

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in the Deccan due to the increased incidence of war.[16] As Lipson observes, the trade in coth, lead and tin in the 17th century was considered as the "touchstone whereby the wealth of England is tried".[17]

The rapid rate at which English trade with India expanded is indicated by the fact that between 1601 and 1613 there were 12 separate voyages.[18] The earlier journeys took over six months for Thomas Best journeyed from England to Damon in 1612 in 6 months and 7 days.[19] But there are instances of longer periods upto 10 months.[20] The Persian journey, however, took much less time for a ship leaving Surat on November 1, 1618 could reach Jask on November 22 and leave Jask on December 12 of the same year and return to Surat on the 10th of January 1619.[21] This was of great benefit to the English in taking over the inter-area trade as will be shown later.

Almost from the beginning of English trade with India Surat figured as the most important port on the Western coast. Thomas Aldworth, the chief factor at Surat, wrote on January 25, 1613 of the importance of Surat in the following words: "the fountain-head from whence we may draw all the trade of our East Indies; for we find here merchandise which we can take and sell in nearly all parts of these Indies and also in England". The Portuguese resented the English intrusion but their efforts at preventing the English from trading at Surat were not successful. And the Factors indicated that the gain to the English Treasury from trade at Surat amounted to some 200,000 crowns every year.[22] The Rev. Patrick Copland almost grows lyrical in praise of Surat and its trade when he says that the establishment of the factory

16. *EFI*, I, p. V.
17. Lipson, E., *The Economic History of England*, II, The Age of Mercantalism, (London, 1931), p. 187.
18. *Ibid.*, II, p. 273.
19. Foster W. (Ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best* to the East Indies, 1612-14, (London, 1934), p. 20.
20. E. G. a ship that left England on the 4th of February 1620 did not reach Surat until November 9 and another that left the Downs on the 25th of March 1620, did not reach Surat until Nov. 9. *EFI*, I, p. 202-203.
21. *Ibid.*, I, p. 55.
22. Foster, *The Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 251.

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at Surat was of much benefit to the Worshipful Company and all the English nation for "the land is very healthful and fertile, and abounds in rich commodities. It seems like another Egypt, or, to say better, a terrestrial Paradise; such is its abundance in all earthly things".[23] By February 1616, Surat was designated as the head factory for the Mughal empire.[24] Sir Thomas Roe spoke of Surat as a great harbour, conveniently located for the European as well as the Asian trade.[25] As the English and Dutch trade prospered Surat grew while the Portuguese possession of Goa declined in its economic prosperity.[26] The English clergyman quoted above writing in 1613 says "Surat hath stone and bricke houses, faire, square, flat-roofed; goodly gardens, with pomegranats, pomecitrons, lemons, melons, figs, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water. The people are grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly clothed in long white calico or silk robes".[27] The increased volume of trade at Surat by October 1620 is indicated by an interesting list of cargo kept ready for England. These included 1200 *churles* of indigo (156,000 lbs. av.); 12000 pieces of broad *baftas* (pieces of cloth from 12 to 15 yds., long by less than 3/4 yd. broad), 24000 pieces of *dutties* (coarse, strong cotton cloth from which dhoties were made); 60,000 pieces of narrow *baftas, semianoes* (piece-goods) and carpets.[28]

Broach was perhaps next in importance only to Surat for the English trade in Western India. The city specialized in the washing and bleaching of calicoes which were sent there from the surrounding districts.[29] Broach also supplied a number of commodities to the English factory at Surat for its trade with the Red Sea and Southeast Asian areas.[30] Indeed the Surat-Broach area held out such fine prospects of commercial activities that in 1620 Thomas Kerridge and other factors at Surat protested against the contemplated reduction of number of factories and recommended that the

23. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
24. *EFI*, I, p. X.
25. *Journal*, p. 663.
26. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 81.
27. Foster, *The Voyage of Thomas Best*, p. 209.
28. *EFI*, I, pp. 46, 201; also see Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* for an explanation of some of the technical terms of the times, p. 55.
29. *EFI*, I, p. V.
30. *Ibid.*, I, p. 138.

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number be increased.[31] The demand for Indian cotton goods was increasing very rapidly. As Thomas Mun argued this trade in calicoes was "of singular use, for this commonwealth in particular; not only therewith to increase the trade into foreign parts; but also thereby, greatly to abate the excessive prices of Cambricks, Holland, and other sorts of linen-cloth; which daily are brought into this Kingdom for a very great sum of money".[32] And indigo was found to be excellent and almost indispensable for the dying of English woollens.[33]

As trade developed and the English factors secured greater experience of the process of buying commodities it was inevitable that factories and trading posts be opened further inland. Such agencies were opened at Ahmedabad and Baroda especially for the purchase of calicoes. And in September 1635 as much as Rs. 10,000 were invested in Agra and the neighbouring districts for the purpose of trade.[34] Baroda held great prospects of supplies for the Red Sea trade and in November 1621 Richard Barber and Justinian Offley at Baroda complained that they had only 6000 *Mahmaudis* on hand which was a small amount for employing 800 workmen. (*A Mahmudi* was priced around 4 shillings at that time).[35] It is interesting to note here the large number of workmen employed at Baroda. It may be surmised that all these workmen must have been employed by the English Factors to manufacture under their personal supervision the commodities needed for export by Surat. If the surmise is valid then this interesting reference throws light on the changes in the organization of production brought about under the impact of English trade. Production in India was often small-scale production with each family engaged in participating in an involved and complicated process which could be undertaken only through decentralised production. But the English needs were such as to demand production on a significantly large-scale and in one place where it could be controlled by the Factors or their agents according to measurements and patterns most in demand for the overseas market. The Indian production was aimed at the domestic market

31. *Ibid.*, I, p. 183.
32. *A Discourse on Trade*, pp. 8-9.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
34. *EFI*, V, p. XIII.
35. *EFI*, I, p. 338.

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and the needs of this market were different from the demands of the foreign market. As will be shown later in the course of this presentation this method of organising production on a large scale as well as the growing demands for Indian textiles in the foreign markets had important repercussions on the Indian market.

Finally we may notice in passing the efforts made by the English to escape both the vagaries of Mughal officials at Surat as well as the hostile attitude of the Portuguese by attempting to establish factories farther down the coast southwards in Western India. One such spot under serious consideration was Dabhol on the Konkan coast. As early as February 1618 Thomas Kerridge thought well of trade possibilities at Dabhol.[36] A communication of February 16, 1618 contains Sir Thomas Roe's instruction about cargo for Dabhol[37] and later in November, 1619, we find opinions expressed that Dabhol had profitable prospects for English trade with the Red Sea area.[38] Discussion then went on about the possibility of the English opening a trade post at Dabhol and it was pointed out that "the Portuguese have no great trade at Dabhol, yet keep a factory there to assist their merchants that come and give license to the Moor's navigation. The profit by the vend of our English commodities would defray the charge of a factory at Dabhol".[39] A month later, when the English were forbidden from selling coral in Surat by the Mughals, the English attempted to dispose it off at Dabhol.[40] As the Red Sea trade assumed increasing importance the English also considered opening an agency at Chaul, near Bombay, for Robert Jeffries at Chaul Road writing to the Company on October 5, 1621 said that they "should do well to establish a factory there, where many of our commodities would vend, both cloths, coral, lead, elephant's teeth & c., whose proceed we might invest in goods proper for the Red Sea, Persia and England".[41]

36. *EFI*, I, p. 2.
37. *Ibid.*, I, p. 19.
38. *Ibid.*, I, p. 139.
39. *Ibid.*, I, p. 252.
40. *Ibid.*, I, p. 158.
41. *Ibid.*, I, p. 289.

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III

Though the East India Company was primarily established to carry on trade with India and Southeast Asia the exigencies of its financial situation, especially in the context of the prevailing theories against the export of gold from England, inevitably led it to take over the inter-area in the Eastern Waters. This had serious economic repercussions for the Indian trading community. Since ancient times, Indian traders frequented the ports of the Red Sea-Persian Gulf and the Indonesia-Malaya areas and sold Indian merchandize much in demand there. These merchants used to disperse to Mocha, Basra, Persia and Achin during the rains in India and return to India during September-November of the same year to invest once again in merchandize for sale abroad.[42] But from 1550 onwards there was a drastic change in this pattern of trade in Indian hands.[43] The initial English attempts directed at carrying on trade with the Persian ports were rebuffed by the treatment meted out to Sir Henry Middleton in 1610-11. It was Sir Thomas Roe who was largely responsible for the revival of these atempts. He was alarmed at the small demand for English goods in India which led to a drain on English silver necessary for the purchase of Indian commodities for the English markets. Consequently he suggested the establishment of a branch trade between Surat and the Red Sea where spices from Bantam and assortments of English and Indian goods could be sold at very profitable rates to the merchants from Egypt who mostly paid for their Asian purchases in speice.[44] Roe wrote: in November 1616 "My counsel is that one of your smallest shops with the fittest English goods and such other as this country yields yearly go in company of the Gujaratis and trade for themselves for money, which is taken in abundance and return in September with them, to supply this place. This profit exceeds all the trades of India and will drive this alone".[45] This profit ranged

42. *EFI*, XII, p. 5.
43. See Gadgil, D. R., Origins of the *Modern Indian Business Class*, An Interim Report, Institute of Pacific Relations, (N. Y., 1959), pp. 2-3.
44. *EFI*, I, p. XI.
45. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence, (London, 1899), p. 348.

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from 30 to 110 per cent which fact alone would have made the trade very attractive.[46]

The preparation for this take over of inter-area trade from Indian hands was set into motion in part by the then Portuguese policy of insisting on Indian ships that they carry Portuguese passports for safe-conduct on the high seas. For this a stiff price had to be paid. The advent of the English was not looked upon unfavourably by the Indian traders since it was expected that the Indians could work out some arrangements with the English for the escorting of their vessels and cargo under the protection of the English Flag. Roe advocated that the English undertake the work of convoying Indian ships to the Red Sea and back for profit against the Portuguese who charged something like £ 3000 for a pass for one vessel.[47] This suggestion was soon put into practice for we hear in October 1619 of the Company's petition to Prince Khurram (future Shah Jahan) speaking of English ships escorting Indian ships to the Red Sea.[48] The Mughals, however, mighty they might have been on land, were powerless on the seas and, since quite a few of them were interested in trading on their own account, must have found the suggestion rather tempting. Foreign Travellers like William Finch had noted that Jahangir's mother and others as well as the Empress Nur Jahan had invested considerable money in trade with the Red Sea area.[49] And the merchants of Surat had the most important financial stake in this trade. This English intrusion was naturally resented by the Portuguese who sometimes attacked English ships carrying goods to Mocha.[50] But the English soon learned how to take care of themselves against these threats. They also used their superiority on the high seas to intimidate Indian shipping and the Mughal authorities from time to time.[51]

46. Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England,* (London, 1924), pp. 292-293.
47. *Ibid.,* p. XII.
48. *EFI,* I, pp. 127, 172.
49. See Pant, D., *The Commercial Policy of the Moguls,* (Bombay, 1930), pp. 164-165; Mirza Ishaq Beg, the Governor of Surat was also a great trader, *EFI,* I, p. 147.
50. *EFI,* I, p. 278.
51. See *EFI,* I, p. 232, pp. 237-238.

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Once the importance of this inter-area trade was understood, the English at Surat were not slow to take steps to take it over from Indian hands. They carried Indian cloth, sugar, pepper, gum-lac and a variety of assorted goods for sale in the Middle Eastern area and the Southeast Asian archipelago and imported coffee and other goods from Persia into India.[52] These references clearly show that throughout the half century under survey the English had steadily taken over the Indian trade both north and westwards as well as south and eastwards. Normally if the English had stuck to their original intention of pursuing the trade between India and Europe the Asiatic trade would have remained in Indian hands. What this meant in economic terms has been indicated by Bal Krishna who estimates that £ 100 first invested at Surat could bring £ 300 in the Moluccas, which reinvested at Bantam or Surat for the home market could produce £ 900 in England.[53] This English intrusion resulted in the English taking over not only the Asiatic trade but also the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean area from Indian hands and this had a profound effect both on the economy of the Indian West Coast and on the profession of ship-building.[54] And the advantage to the English of this whole trend of change in the control of India's foreign trade is described by Thomas Mun as "the great revenue of the King; the Honour of the Kingdom; the Noble Profession of the Merchant; the School of our Arts; the Supply of our wants; the Employment of our Poor; the Improvement of our Lands; the Nursery of our Mariners; the Walls of the Kingdom; the Means of our Treasure; the Sinews of our War; the Terror of our Enemies".[55]

Originating in the need for the conservation of English silver this trade, then, emerged as a factor of far-reaching consequence to both the English and Western India. As Roe himself reported the merchants of Surat reacted in dismay to this change for he says: "The merchants of this place are also undone by our trade to the southwards which has taken (as we may term it) the meat out of their mouths and overthrown their trade that way.....

52. For references to this trade and commodities see *EFI*, I, pp. 16, 76, 81, and *passim*; II, pp. VII, XX, 7-8, 161; IV, pp. XII-XXIII; VIII; p. VII, etc.
53. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 83; also pp. 84-86.
55. Quoted by Bal Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

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Since our coming this port is undone, which in their grief they spare not sometimes to tell us". And Foster remarks that after the take over of the trade with Southeast Asia what was left to the Indian trade was the Red Sea trade and when that too was taken over the economic penetration of Western India by the East India Company in the early 17th century had proceeded far indeed.[56]

IV

The other aspects of the English impact on Western India during the first half of the 17th century may now be examined. This appeared in the area of foreign investments. At the time when the English began to operate in the area English trade had already become internationalized. As Lipson states: the English "native produce was not limited to a national market; it furnished also the needs of an international market" and that "After the discovery of America and of a fresh sea route to India, the products of this country ceased to be confined to a very small part of the earth-Europe and Asia Minor; henceforth they found their way to the hemisphere in the West and to the Empire of the Mogul in the east....".[57] This spectacular increase in foreign trade brought with it a strong ability to invest overseas in trade and commerce and a considerable part of this investment was involved in the English operations in Western India. For the first decade (1601-1610) the total value of English exports to the Indies is estimated at £ 170,875 or £ 17,085 per annum.[58] Between 1600 and 1612 there were in all 12 voyages which netted an average profit of 138% on the capital employed in all the voyages.[59] The trade during the next decade (1611-1620) grew to more than fourfold over the volume for the first decade.[60] This expansion naturally meant growing English investment. We have some random figures of moneys invested at various places which give us an idea of the magnitude of this investment. A communication

56. *EFI*, I, pp. XII-XIII.
57. Lipson, E., *The Growth of English Society*, (New York, 1953), pp. 82-83.
58. Bal Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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of January 1620 mentions the interesting fact that as many as 1,015,000 mahmudis were available with the English factors in Surat, Ahmedabad and other places.[61] Taking one Mahmudi as being equal to one English shilling the figure works out to over £ 50,000. And this is not an isolated instance for we have an instance of a year's fleet in 1618 spending 12,120 Mahmudis that is over 606.[62] In 1619 the Company at Surat spent some £ 39,623 on goods for shipment to England and Southwards. Besides this the considerable private trade carried on by servants of the Company must have resulted in the expenditure of other substantial amounts in Surat and elsewhere.[63] Of the Rials sent with the fleet in February 1620 some 163,956 were landed at Surat for investment there. With the Rial of Eight then standing at 5 Shillings this amount works out to some £ 40,989.[64] Between 1615 and 1629, 27 ships left Surat. These represented purchase of cargo worth more than £ 695,260.[65] During 1632-1633 some five ships sailed for India with cargo worth £ 62,000 and another £ 164,000 in cash.[66] We have information on investments for another period of 15 years between 1630 and 1645. During this period some 22 ships carried cargo worth over £ 652,290 from the port of Surat.[67]

The figures quoted above represent substantial English investments in the markets of Western India. These investments must have produced their own impact which affected the economy of the area in several ways. They meant, in the first instance, a significantly increased demand for Indian goods in foreign markets which must have led to the expansion of production. In cases where this expansion of production was not proportionate to the demand for goods, it inevitably led to inflated prices. Such an occasional tendency is reflected in the correspondence of the times. In his letter of February 14, 1618 Roe reported: "There is no complaint by the Mogul's subject that we buy not their commodities, but contrary that we buy so much that their own merchants want

61. *EFI*, I, p. 178.
62. *Ibid.*, I, p. 52.
63. Bal Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
64. *EFI*, I, p. 185.
65. *EFI*, III, pp. XXIV-XXXV.
66. *EFI*, IV, pp. XXVI and XXXII.
67. *EFI*, VII, p. XIX.

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for the Red Sea. I know it true we have raised the price of all we deal in and now we fear that the Dutch will make it worse".[68] Some 11 years later it is found that the export of Indian cloth by the English affected trade so much that the weavers of Broach organized a boycott protesting against the large purchases of cotton yarn by the English. This led to an increase in the price of yarn which hurt the Broach weavers themselves.[69]

This large trading and investments tended to break down the isolation of the Western Indian markets. The English bought not only at Surat and Broach but also far inland at places like Agra, Burhanpur, Patna and Samana in the Punjab. This naturally affected the price structures prevailing in areas of the country separated by long distances from one another. The provincial and regional markets, under this impact, tended to lose their isolation and appeared to assume a quasi-national character. English trading also influenced the fluctuations in the market rates of the various currencies in use in Western India making these fluctuations almost international.[70] This internationalization of the money market was perhaps one of the most important aspects of the early English economic impact in Western India.

The Company's activities also influenced the economic life of the area in another way. Being in possession of large amounts in cash from time to time the Company was in a position to give gifts (bribes) to Mughal officials as also to loan money to them. A communication of November 30, 1621 speaks of Himmat Khan, the Mughal governor at Ahmedabad borrowing Rs. 800 from the Company's agents there which was indeed "a sorry sum for a governor to borrow"![71] But more important than such occasional loans to Mughal officials was the fact that a new class of Indian merchants was coming into existence. This was the class of agents and brokers who worked for the Company and by their association with foreign trade and traders amassed sizable fortunes. The Factory Records mention a number of such agents and brokers.

68. *EFI*, I, p. 17.
69. *EFI*, IV, p. VI.
70. For evidence of such fluctuations see *EFI*, I, pp. 105, 149; Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 331; *EFI*, II, p. 86; *EFI*, V, p. XXIV.
71. *EFI*, I, p. 339.

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Among these were Janoji Modoji, Ramrikhbhai and Tapi Das, the last being perhaps the chief broker at Baroda.[72] Then there was one Nathu Shah who was *sharaf* (money-changer or banker) who operated principally in Ahmedabad and Surat. In October 1619 he agreed to provide money to the English in Ahmedabad on the understanding that this would be repaid in Surat.[73] From Surat he agreed to go to Agra for transacting some business for the English. In Patna the English worked through a broker called Man Makhan. Three brokers worked at Agra and were called Kashi, Bisheshar and Dhanaji. In Burhanpur there was Hiraji. In Cambay the English depended on Vishnudas to lend them money which could be repaid in Ahmedabad. Tskandar, either a Muslim or an Armenian Catholic, worked as a broker and an interpreter in Surat. These brokers were paid brokerage ranging from ½ to 1 per cent.[74]

The most outstanding among these agents and traders in Western India was undoubtedly Virjee Vohra. He figures prominently in the records of the English Factories. He was so important that he was given courteous receptions in all English ships visiting Surat.[75] Vohra, or Vora as his name is spelt, was rightly reputed to be the richest merchant in Asia of his days and his first mention occurs in 1619. He bought and sold gold, silver, lead, coral, ivory, spices, opium and cotton and many other commodities besides. He conducted business on a very large scale and he and his agents were in a position to buy entire cargoes of ships visiting the Western Indian ports and thus practically control the whole market of Western India. His business ramifications were wide and numerous and we find him even financing a voyage to Burma projected by the East India Company.[76] The Company borrowed heavily from Vohra and the rate of interest charges seems to be from 1½% upwards.[77] Being in a position to control markets and prices Vohra was in a position not only to dictate his own terms to

72. *EFI*, I, p. 98.
73. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 91, 133.
74. See *EFI*, I, pp. 95, 194, 198, 232, 236, 293, 329; II, p. 8; VI; p. vii.
75. *EFI*, I p. 86.
76. For references to Vohra see *EFI*, I, pp. 114, 231; VIII, p. VI, etc. Also see Hall, D. G. E., *Europe and Burma*, (London, 1945), p. 31.
77. *EFI*, VIII, p. VI.

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the foreign trades but also invite the unfavourable attentions of the Mughal officers.[78] He seems to have lived up to 1677.

The growth of this class of merchants and bankers whose prosperity depended so much upon foreign, and more especially English trade, was a new phenomenon in Indian economic history. These merchants were in a position to mobilize large amounts of capital and invest them in the markets as also in production of goods. The Jagat Seths of northern India rose into prominence in the 18th century, that is a century after the rise of Virji Vohra and his colleagues in Western India.[79] The loyalties of this class were not on the side of the Mughals whose commercial policies generally adversely affected the interests of the Hindu merchants and financiers. These classes were interested primarily in amassing riches and would support any group in a position to safeguard peace and enforce law and order. The rise of Maratha power under the great Shivaji directly threatened the prosperity of Surat which was sacked twice by the Marathas (1664 and 1670). In the course of the first raid the properties of Virjee Vohra suffered great losses. Hence it was no wonder that when the English acquired Bombay in 1667, and were able to demonstrate that they were able to safeguard their possession against attacks, many rich merchants as well as skilled artizans transferred themselves to Bombay. Shivaji's attacks on Surat practically brought the prosperity of that port and the surrounding areas to an end and it was not until a hundred years later that the economic processes initiated first in Western India could be repeated and completed and that too in Bengal.[80]

V

What were the Mughal Government's reactions to such momentous changes in the economic life of one of their richest provinces? Sir Thomas Roe's encounter with Jahangir was not as fruitful for the Company as was desired by the Factors at Surat. Prince Khurram, the later Emperor Shah Jahan, was frankly

78. For a brief account of Vohra see Moreland, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-155.
79. For comments on the political role of these elements see Panikkar, K. M., *Asia and Western Dominance*, (London, 1959), pp. 77-78.
80. For a description of Shivaji's raids on Surat see Sarkar, J. N., Shivaji and his Times, (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 92-97, 170-175.

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suspicious of the English and Aurangzeb (1658-1707) was occasionally overtly hostile. The main causes of friction were based on English acts of piracy[81] and the take-over of the Red Sea trade by the English. There were instances when the Indian merchants petitioned the Emperors against the grant of permission of trade with the Red Sea area to the English.[82] But inspite of the protests of Indian merchants and the hostility of the Mughal power the English succeeded in taking over the Indian trade with the Red Sea area as well as with Southeast Asia. This was because of their superiority in ships and their fire-power and better commercial organization. In 1601 one of the 4 ships sent under James Lancaster mounted some 40 guns and each others had 24 guns. By 1676 the Directors of the Company required that all ships of 500 tons and more carry 24 guns and a resolution of 1677 allowed 28 guns to a three-decker.[83] And the organization of the Company, especially after the initiation of the Joint-stocks, was something far ahead of mercantile developments in India of those days.

The loss of Asiatic trade made the English economic penetration in Western India almost inevitable. There was resentment especially against the trade in Persian coral for which there was great demand at the Mughal court as well as in the Deccan.[84] At the behest of Indian merchants the Mughal emperors issued orders prohibiting English trade from India with the Red Sea area.[85] But this could always be either flouted openly or skilfully circumvented. As a last resort the English could always bring pressure to bear on the merchants of Surat by threatening to divert their trade to Ahmedabad, a possibility which could not be considered with any degree of equanimity by the Surat merchants as it meant great financial loss to the city.[86] Even the attempts made by some

81. See *EFI*, II, pp. XV-XIX; III, p. VI; Abdulla Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda also complained of sharp practices by the English; *EFI*, VI, p. 27.

82. *EFI*, I, pp. XII, XIV, 13, 56, 89, 92, 95, 101; 117; 120; 121; 127; 135; 146, 164, 174, etc.

83. Cotton, E., *East Indiamen*, The East India Company's Maritime Service, (Ed. by Sir Charles Fawcett), (London, 1949), p. 143.

84. See *EFI*, I, pp. XXX, XXXV, 131.

85. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 92, 176, 184-186.

86. *EFI*, V, p. XII.

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Mughal dignitaries to monopolise trade in important commodities like indigo ended in failure. Thus Shah Jahan made trade in a Indigo a monopoly and entrusted its control to a merchant called Manohardas in 1633, but this was dissolved two years later as a result of protest and threats of mercantile reprisals by the English and the Dutch.[87] These instances clearly go to indicate that the English, inspite of frequent complaints about the difficulties of trading with the Mughal empire, had achieved a significant degree of economic penetration in the life of Western India in the first half of the 17th century. This process could have finally led to political changes and the English flag could have supplanted Mughal authority in Western India in the 18th century as did the English trade replace Indian control over Asian trade. This did not happen because of the rise of the Marathas in the rich Western India trading areas which bottled up the English possession in Bombay until 1775, practically destroyed the prosperity of Surat by 1670 and temporarily put Western India out of the English orbit. The Maratha power thus prevented English advances in Western India at least for a century. And by that time the English had already discovered the advantages of commerce and conquest in the southern and eastern parts of the country.

But the impact, while it lasted, was indeed revolutionary. It created new demands for Indian goods, brought into operation new patterns of large-scale commercial production, shattered the isolation of the local markets, created fluctuations in currency and prices, threw up a new class of merchants and bankers symbolised in the enormous wealth of the people like Virjee Vohra and demonstrated to the Mughals that their weakness on the high seas was only more obvious than their lack of control over domestic markets even when they were at the zenith of their military and political power. It was in Western India, therefore, that the first signs of the economic and political revolution which finally led to the establishment of the British Empire were witnessed.

87. *EFI*, V, pp. XI, XXXV.

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The British Civilians in India and Indian Freedom

BY

Dr. Nandalal Chatterji

Curious as it may seem, India's freedom movement was the product of those forces which the British elements in the Indian Civil Service itself were instrumental in generating in this country. Though it is true that India's urge for freedom was the visible symbol of the national revival following in the wake of English education and Western ideas of nationalism, it would be hard to believe to-day that the Indian National Congress which has successfully fought for India's freedom was planned by an erstwhile member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr. A. O. Hume. What more surprising paradox could the British bureaucracy in India Present to Indian history than the fact that the Indian national movement itself owes its inception to the enterprise of a British civilian?

Few of us would care to recall today that those rare people in the Indian Civil Service who sympathised with political aspirations of the Indians were nicknamed "*White Babus*" in India's freedom movement. These Britishers may be regarded as the pioneers of our independence movement. It is indeed strange that such liberal, sympathetic and progressive Europeans could exist in the soulless atmosphere of the Indian Civil Service. The Indian bureaucracy was so intimately associated with the state that the two seemed to be merged in one another. No Britisher could ordinarily forsee in the last century that the day was not far off when the Indian Civil Service would be forced to abdicate its extraordinary power and influence. The gospel of the white man's burden governed the whole outlook of the ordinary civilian. That, therefore, there were some individuals who were not totally submerged in the bureaucratic aloofness is truly interesting, and it is only fair that we should recall their names today in gratitude no less than as a matter of duty.

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To an average Britisher in the last century the idea of an all-India national organisation might well have sounded fantastic. Could it be wise, he might well have asked himself, to encourage political agitation among the Indians? But, to a small band of the so-called White Babus like Mr. A. O. Hume, Sir W. Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton, the idea seemed both feasible and proper that Indians should have a forum where they could ventilate legitimate grievances and discuss matters of national interest. In fact, the Indian National Congress did not start as a mere accident. There is sufficient evidence to show that it was actually planned by Mr. Hume probably at the instance of the then Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The conditions in the country were indeed ripe for such a consummation, yet the situation needed a person with initiative and vision who could give it a concrete shape. That person was an ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Revenue Departments, Mr. A. O. Hume, who has often been remembered as the Father of the Indian National Congress.

Though the inside story of the birth of the Congress is not fully known, it is possible to form some idea of the part played by Mr. Hume. Early in 1885, he met the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, and explained to him the details of his scheme. The Viceroy was evidently impressed by Mr. Hume's arguments, for he expressed his appreciation of the idea underlying the scheme, and promised to give it his serious attention. After considering over the matter for a few days, the Viceroy granted another interview to Mr. Hume, and told him that the scheme would be of some value, if the proposed all-India organisation was not restricted to social reform alone. The Viceroy pointed out that he as the head of the Government was experiencing the utmost difficulty in understanding the real wishes of the people, for there was no body of persons in India who performed the function which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. The press too was yet underdeveloped and unreliable. So, the Viceroy urged, it would be a great advantage to the Administrator who was necessarily ignorant of what was thought of him in Indian circles, if a responsible and reliable body could be created through which the Government might be kept informed of the public opinion. He also pointed out that a body such as this should not be presided over by the Provincial Governor, for the latter's presence might prove embarrassing to the

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members and prevent a full and frank discussion of the official measures. Mr. Hume is said to have agreed that owing to the wide disparity in local conditions and differences in caste and religion, non-political matters could be the concern of provincial bodies rather than that of an all-India body.

Mr. Hume later chalked out the plan of a political organization in consultation with the Indian leaders of those days. He met responsible leaders of public opinion in places like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The scheme was at once welcomed by the Indian leaders who knew that it had the blessing of the Viceroy himself.

But Lord Dufferin had stipulated that his name in this connection should not be made public so long as he was in India, and this condition that was to be added, was faithfully observed barring the persons whom he had taken into his confidence, nobody was aware of the interest taken by the Viceroy in the Congress. The matter received publicity for the first time in 1898 when the first Congress President, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, pointedly referred o it in one of his published writings. There is further corroboration of this in a published statement of Sir William Wedderburn, a close associate of Mr. Hume, and himself an ex-President of the Congress. It would thus appear that the Congress owes its inception to the initiative of two Britishers a civilian and a Viceroy.

A study of the speeches and writings of the early British friends of India like Mr. Hume, Sir W. Wedderburn or Sir Henry Cotton shows that they were inspired by statesmanlike motives in the interest of British Empire itself. They were fully aware of the fact that as a result of English education a new spirit had come into being in India. They honestly recognised the genuineness and sincerity of this new spirit. They thought that if this spirit was not directed to a healthy channel, it could well be a menace to the British connection. So, they did not like to repress this spirit. Besides, the despotic system under which they functioned repelled them, and they refused to be bound to it hand and foot, for it was repugnant to their British liberalism. They faintly foresaw that such a system could not last for ever, and they agreed that it was neither sacrosanct, nor fool-proof. As Sir Henry Cotton said in the course of his presidential speech at the twentieth session of the Congress held in 1904 at Bombay:-

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"You cannot withstand the flowing tide. Temporary spasms of reaction are inevitable. They pass away like foot-prints on the sand..... It is not reserved to any human agency to set back the dial of time. The "day is dawning, which Macaulay declared, would be the proudest day of England's history." The words were prophetic, indeed.

Mr. Hume and his associates believed that the Indian national movement would rather strengthen than destroy India's connection with Britain. They urged that Britain must recognise India's right to self-government, for a complete break in their relations would be bad for both the countries. In short, they desired no abrupt snapping of the existing ties, they pleaded only for the loosening of the bonds. Mr. Hume urged that the signs of political agitation resulting from the passing of the Vernacular Press Act and the Ilbert Bill were a warning for Britain that, unless all the Indian grievances were met in time and with a good grace, the danger was that serious political discontent in India might encourage Russian designs on this country and potential conspirators and disgruntled people could be prevented from doing positive mischief only if the Indian demand was partly met and was directed in proper channels so as to become a responsible movement. This was the object with which Mr. Hume sought to create the Indian National Congress through which the Government could be kept informed regarding loyal Indian public opinion. Mr. Hume pointed out that though the first duty of the British Government was that of defending the country against invasion, its other great duty was to stop the agitation which might be an added inducement to the invader.

That the foundation of the Congress was desired as a counter-move against probable Russian aggression on India is clear from the statement of another distinguished civilian, Sir William Wedderburn. He stated in the course of his own presidential speech at the fifth session of the Congress held at Bombay in 1889; "It is well known that in all schemes for the invasion of India, the Russian Generals depend for success on a hope for rising of the native population. In 1885, they appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have rejoiced, and we should have felt our position weakened."

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Sir William Wedderburn added that if Indians were trained by the English in a love of free institutions, they would never wish to exchange the rule of England for that of Russia.

Mr. Hume, the real originator of the Congress, was also its first Secretary in the real sense of the term. He held this office till his death in 1912. He was requested to accept the Presidentship of the Congress more than one, but he modestly declined the honour of every time in favour of others. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholdar, in his presidential speech of 1912, paid the following tribute to the memory of the founder of the Congress, "that great, good man Allan Octavian Hume":—

"He worked for the Congress day and night, winter and summer, through good repute and ill, to nourish the child of his affection. For us, he incurred the anger and hatred of men of his race, suffered obloquy and contumely and ungrudgingly bore even prosecution. It is very doubtful if the Congress plant would have been the hardy tree that it now is, if there had not been Mr. Hume to water and tend it in the years of its infancy and to protect it against the furious blasts of attacks and prosecution."

Sir William Wedderburn was another high-souled civilian to whom India owes gratitude and affection for the services rendered by him to the Congress. He was President of the Congress twice (1889 and 1910), and it was he who made the Congress deputation to England a success and its recognition was due to the influence and labours of this veteran friend of India "who, in the words of Mr. B. N. Basu, Congress President of 1914, by his single-minded devotion to our cause which he made his own, has laid us under an obligation which we can never hope to repay and the full extent of which will never be known."

Another distinguished civilian who helped to make the Congress movement strong and popular was Sir Henry Cotton who incurred the displeasure of Lord Curzon for his pro-Indian feelings. It was this great Englishman who supported the Indian cause at the time of the Bengal Partition and presided at a huge public demonstration held at Calcutta to protest against the partition, for he was proud to regard Bengal as his land of adoption. The Congress honoured him by electing him as the Congress President for the 1904 session held at Bombay. After his retire-

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ment, he continued to be one of the stoutest champions of India in England, both in and out of Parliament.

Modern India cannot forget these "White Babus" in the Indian Civil Service who laid the country under an everlasting obligagation. The greatness of their services to India's national movement cannot be better indicated than in the fine words which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya used in his Congress Presidential address of 1918:—

"We cherish the honoured name of Allan Octavian Hume who was the founder of the Indian National Congress. We revere the memory of the godly Sir William Wedderburn who devoted all his time up the last moment of his life to the promotion of the good of India. We love the respected name of Sir Henry Cotton whose lifelong service to this country will not be easily forgotten".

The Indian Civil Service has been a bureaucracy both condensed and crystallised, and it reached a height of despotism beyond which it is not possible for despotism to reach. It has always sought to curb and destroy the Indian national movement which in the beginning started more as a protest against bureaucratic hegemony than as a move against the British connection as such.

Indian nationalism, however, triumphed at last, because the Indian Civil Service prepared its own coffin, when some of its enlightened members lent their valuable support to the Congress. Thus, the Indian Civil Service has consciously, or unconsciously, and perhaps in fits of generosity, worked up to its own overthrow, and, in the words of Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, Congress President for 1916, prepared its own nest of spices like the fabulous Phoenix, in anticipation of its allotted cycle of years, set fire to it and flapped that fire into a flame with its own wings singing its melodious song to consume itself into ashes out of which to rise again in a glorious rebirth.

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल

Some Aspects of Malabar's Trade During 1793-1813

BY

H. R. Ghosal, M.A., B.L., D.Litt.

The Malabar region, including Kanara, Coorg, Malabar proper, Cochin and Travancore, owing to its close proximity to the sea and the favourable position it occupied as a meeting ground of several trade routes from the East and the West, had long been well-known for its commerce. During the early medieval period the Arabs drove a brisk commerce with this coast; and towards the close of the thirteenth century Marco Polo wrote about its ports being frequented by Chinese traders, who came here attracted especially by its spices, as well as Arabs who had a monopoly of the importation of horses. Later on, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese secured their first foothold on Indian soil in Malabar and established settlements to the north of it. They had the best out of its commerce for more than a century, a great part of the trade being gradually transferred from the country traders to their hands. During the period under review several Western nations shared in its trade with the English East India Company, British private traders and the Asiatic merchants.

Our main sources of information on Malabar's trade during the period are the Company's records—the Home Department (Public) Consultations in the National Archives of India, the reports of Bengal, Bombay and Madras Governments on the external commerce of India and the Bengal Board of Trade Consultations under the heads: Commercial and Customs. Considerable light is also thrown on the subject by some contemporary English books and journals, and some later works, such as the Reports of the Lords' and Commons' Committees on the Affairs of the East India Company. And incidental references to it may be found in relevant volumes of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates as well as in the Parliamentary Papers of the time.

It may be noted at the outset that the coastal trade with Malabar and Coromandel was the principal branch of Bengal's

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external Indian trade during the period. Grain was at first the most important import from the Bengal Presidency into these territories. A contemporary English writer, Anthony Lambert, writes that in the year 1793, no fewer than 51 European ships, carrying 28,100 tons brought cargoes from Bengal to the Malabar coast, and that "not less than 25,000 tons consisted of grain and pulse which, taken at the former valuation of two and a half current rupees[1] per bag, gives 2,12,500 current rupees."[2] The importation of rice from Bengal to Cochin is also referred to in De Cruz's letters of 23 and 28 November, 1793.[3] The total value of Bengal imports to Malabar in the year is estimated by Lambert at about fourteen lacs of current rupees.[4] The item next in importance on the import side consisted of cotton and silk piece-goods. Though Malabar produced plenty of cloths, the cotton fabrics of Bengal had a regular demand there, while Bengal silk manufactures were much prized. The other leading imports from the Bengal side, in order of importance, were sugar, raw silk, saltpetre, gunnies, long pepper and ginger.[5] The principal exports to Bengal were horses, sandal wood, coir and coir rope, pepper and spices, turmeric, cocoanuts, cocoanut oil and teak timber.[6] Some cotton wool and bullion were occassionally exported to.[7] It is worth noticing that the country trade between Malabar and Bengal was less than one fourth of the European trade in value.

The partial opening of the East India trade to private enterprise by the charter Act of 1793 no doubt gave a certain impetus to Malabar's trade by enabling British individuals to participate in it.[8] But political disturbances at Poona following Baji Rao II's

1. Current rupee—the same as Chalani rupee; it was not a coin but the money of account, 100 sicca rupees being taken as 116 current rupees. *Vide* J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, pp. 112 and 287.
2. *Asiatic Annual Register for the year* 1803, p. 9.
3. *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Dec. 1944, p. 316.
4. *Asiatic Annual Register for the year* 1803, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
7. *Ibid.*
8. See in this connection my article: The Charter Act of 1793 and the Outlines of British Commrcial Policy, etc. in *Calcutta Review*, Nov., 1939, pp. 171-81.

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accession to the Peshwaship in 1796 had a depressing effect on the trade.[9] Even Bengal imports to Malabar were affected by this factor. Thus the Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, noted in 1797 that there had been a considerable falling off in the import of Bengal raw silk in 1796-97, as a result of which the price of the article in Calcutta had fallen from seven rupees to about five rupees a seer.[10] The trade scarcely revived until after the termination of the Anglo-Mysore war in 1799. Thus during these years the value of British imports to Malabar from the Bengal Presidency dwindled to about three lacs of rupees.[11] But a number of circumstances, such as the end of the Mysore war and the establishment of peaceful relations with the state of Mysore, the acquisition of Tanjore by the Company, and the extension of British political control over the Malabar Rajahs[12] under Lord Wellesley, led to a marked revival of the trade, with the result that the value of Bengal imports rose to above twelve lacs of rupees a year.[13] The Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, observed in 1802 that since the acquisition of Tanjore "a spirit of commercial enterprise" had begun to show itself among the inhabitants of Malabar.[14] The exports from Malabar to Calcutta, and the imports therefrom, were at this time precisely the same as in 1793 and thereabouts.[15] But one notable change in export trade occurred in 1800-1801. Formerly Bengal had been "nearly wholly supplied with pepper from Malabar, but in 1800/1, altho' the value of pepper imported into Calcutta was Rs. 8,19,245 no part of it came from Malabar.[16] The heavy duty on pepper ex-

9. Letter from Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal to Board of Trade, 31 July, 1797—Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 4 Aug., 1797.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Report on External Commerce of Bengal—Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 23 April, 1802.

12. See K. K. Datta's article: Malabar Rajahs and the East India Company in *Bengal: Past and Present*, July-Dec., pp. 1-5.

13. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 23 April, 1802.

14. *Ibid.*

15. See in this connection Home (Public) Cons., 12 Jan., 1804, No. 5; 16 Feb., 1804, No. 38; 26 April, 1804, No. 26; 4 Nov., 1814, No. 10 (National Archives of India).

16. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 23 April, 1802.

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port, and certain other restrictions imposed on the trade, were chiefly responsible for the decline.[17]

The value of another item in export trade fell off very considerably. Horses, which had been exported to Bengal in large numbers in previous years, were from 1803-04 no longer so much in demand. No wonder that British exports from Malabar to Bengal in 1805 fell to less than two lacs of rupees in value.[18] The imports from the Bengal Presidency, however, rapidly rose in value; and the remarkable thing is that over sixteen lacs of rupees worth of Bengal raw silk was imported in 1805.[19]

During the period under review Malabar had quite an extensive trade with Malaya and Indonesia. The trade with Penang or the Prince of Wales Island and Sumatra on the whole continued uninterrupted during the period. But trade intercourse with Java was broken when Holland became an enemy country in 1795. During the interval of peace in 1802-03 the intercourse was resumed. Thus, whereas there was absolutely no direct trade between Java and the Malabar Coast in 1801-02, in the two following years the imports to Malabar and Bombay from Batavia were worth Rs. 3,13,660 and Rs. 4,99,873 respectively.[20] But the value of the exports from Bombay and Malabar to Java in 1802-03 did not exceed five thousand rupees, while in 1803-04 there were no exports at all.[21] That the value of Java imports in 1802-03 and 1803-04 was so high is to be accounted for by the great demand for Java Sugar in this quarter.[22] During the next four years there was entirely no trade with Java.[23] According to the Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, the trade would have revived, had it not been for the British Orders-in-Council following the Berlin Decree of Napoleon (1806), and the outbreak of war between England and Denmark.[24]

17. *Ibid.*
18. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, ii, p. 138.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Letter from Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, to Governor-General, 2 April. 1811.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*

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The bulk of India's foreign trade during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was naturally in the hands of neutral nations.[25] Thus the volume of Portuguese trade with this country showed a marked increase.[26] What is more interesting to note, the belligerent state of Enrope gave a decided advantage to the Americans. The United States had embarked on East India trade soon after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain (1783), and had been accorded a cordial treatment in British Indian ports since 1788.[27] Thereafter American ships visited the ports of Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal almost regularly. The signing of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between Britain and the United States in November, 1794, gave an impetus to the trade by allowing American subjects a right to carry on a trade between their country and "all the sea-ports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies" in all articles "of which the importation or exportation respectively to or from the said territories" was not entirely prohibited.[28]

The Americans did not establish any settlements in India but made their purchases through Indian agents or banians. They often abused the privileges granted them by the Treaty of 1794;[29] for besides supplying the wants of their own markets, they carried the products of India to different parts of Europe and South America, and even to the British West Indian and North American colonies.[30] Moreover, American ships received cargoes at the Danish settlement of Serampore in Bengal and cleared out for the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, Penang and the Straits, Manila, China and Mauritius.[31] Then also, American traders illegally exported Malwa opium from Malabar to the islands of Java

25. See the author's *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency*, pp. 234-35.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
27. See my article: The Charter Act of 1793, etc. in *Calcutta Review*, Nov., 1939, p. 172 n; see also my paper: The Americans in Eastern Trade in *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, 1956.
28. Milburn, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 136.
29. Speech of Charles Grant—Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXVI (1813), p. 1247.
30. Hansards *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXV (1813), App. p. XXIX.
31. Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 8 May, 1798; Home (Public) Cons., 1 April, 1799.

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and Sumatra. America of course had very little to give India in the shape of manufactured goods. The bulk of her imports to Malabar therefore consisted of treasure, together with a cargo of Bengal manufactures imported from time to time in violation of the provisions of the aforesaid treaty. Occasionally American traders brought a little sugar from the West Indies and Turkish opium from the Mediterranean Coast, the latter article being chiefly intended for re-export to Malaya and Indonesia.[32]

During the Napoleonic Wars Danish trade with India increased almost to the same extent as American trade. The Danes had little direct trade with the Malabar Coast. But considerable Danish ships from Serampore and Rishra[33] cleared out for Manila and the Eastern Archipelago as well as for Copenhagen:[34] A substantial part of the trade covered by the Danish flag was illicit, and ships under Danish colours sometimes touched at the Coromandel and Malabar ports.[35] It should be noted, however, that among the Western nations the Portuguese had the greatest share in the Malabar trade after the British. They had a decided advantage over the Americans in that they possessed a number of settlements on the Western Coast and they imported Malwa opium for re-export to Macao in China.[36] In fact the Portuguese traffic in Malwa opium became a source of constant anxiety to the Company's Government during the early years of the last century.[37] And attempts made to stop it failed to produce any very satisfactory results.[38]

Malabar had also regular trade with the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, Pegu and the islands on the Indian Ocean. This was predominantly in the hands of Asiatic merchants. And a considerable part of it was carried on in ships built at its own harbours.

32. Letter from Reporter of External Commerce to Governor-General 2 April, 1811.
23. A place in the immediate neighbourhood of Serampore.
34. Beng. Board of Trade (Customs) Cons., 8 May, 1798.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Home (Public) Cons., 2 Jan., 1806, No. 16.
37. See my article; Indo-Portuguese Commercial Relations during the early nineteenth century in *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1954, pp. 322-27.
38. *Ibid.*

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The region abounding in teak timber and coir was well-adapted for the purpose of ship-building. And Malabar-built ships were decidedly more durable than those built in Calcutta, Chittagong and Sylhet.[39]

Regarding the importance of the Malabar trade the Reporter of External Commerce, Bengal, observed in 1797: "The export trade (from Bengal) to the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar is not only beneficial to the Company by encouraging the industries of the natives of Bengal, but also serves to produce funds at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay for commercial and other purposes which, it is presumed, must otherwise be sent from Bengal in specie".[40] Moreover, Malabar served as a halting ground for Arab traders carrying their cargoes of horses, dates and occasional supplies of salt to Bengal. On their homeward voyage from Bengal, too, the Arabs generally touched at Malabar ports to dispose of a part of the Bengal silk piece-goods.[41] And they were the only people who ventured to trade at Mangalore from Bengal.[42] Finally, Bengal's ship-building industry owed a great deal to Malabar, from where were obtained both teak timber and coir.

39. *Asiatic Annual Register for* 1803, Mis. Tracts, pp. 17-18.
40. Beng. Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 4 Aug., 1797.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*

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Ancient Canals

BY

I. KARTHI KEYA SARMA

In India the prehistoric food gatherer turned to be an "intentional food producer"[1] in the neolithic age itself. The earliest civilization as revealed from the various Harappan sites affords ample testimony to the existence of food products like rice,[2] wheat, barley, dates, peas and sasame.[3] The Indus economy like Egyptian and Babylonian rested on irrigation farming.[4] One is astonished at the highly technical skill of the Harappans at such a remote date as 3rd millenium B.C. when they perfected the system of elaborate town planning along with underground drainage schemes, so modern even to the present day towns. Such a highly civilised people must have had thorough knowledge of irrigation by moulding the nature-blessed sources like the rivers, streams, etc. The control of these lavish resources involved a tremendous effort to subdue them to the need of humanity. Thus a start towards an artificial collection of the invariable life

1. V. D. Krishnaswamy *Neolithic pattern of India,* Presidential address, section of Anthropology and Archaeology, *Indian Science Congress,* Delhi, 1959, p. 1.

Remarkable was the Jericho — "the oldest town of the world" in the Jordon valley, whereas Kathleen Kenyon, the Director of the excavations states that "fields and gardens, supported a considerable population, of Neolithic Jericho (6th millenium B.C. or earlier) by a system of irrigation through channels. The water would not have reached a sufficient area due to the great heat of the district, unless, there is an abundant supply through artificial means". (K. Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho,* London, 1957, pp. 74-75).

2. At Lothal charred rice from a storage jar kept in mudbrick house point to the cultivation of rice. Of significance is their non-availability at other Harappan sites.

3. Mortimer Wheeler, *Early India & Pakistan* (1960), pp. 79 and 102.

4. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the most Ancient East,* London, 1952, p. 176.

Dr. Wheeler in his recent work ('India and Pakistan', p. 102) states that the Indus people "with the aid of some sort of irrigation system which is now deeply buried by post-Indus aggradation, but, may, in principle,

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requirement has been envisaged which later on elaborately resulted in stately works like the construction of dams, canals and tanks.

Such artificial means of irrigation are of remote antiquity in India being primarily an agricultural country from times immemorial. In this vast sub-continent the failure of the monsoons, the uneven rainfall, its scarcity and excess made the man to divise methods to restrain and regulate these sources.

By way of prologue this background will suffice to further our investigation into the Literary, Epigraphical and Archaeological evidences of canals.

Literary Evidences

Rigveda,[5] the earliest of the sacred books of the Aryans contains words like "Kūlyā" meaning 'canal';, "Khanitrima" 'produced by digging' as an epithet of āpaḥ—'waters', clearly refers to artificial channels used for irrigation. "Sarasi" and "Kūlyā" also occur in Yajurveda[6] which meant "Dam or reservoir (or as well a lake), and 'canal'. Atharvaveda[7] gives the desciption of cutting a canal from a river and allegorizes the former as a calf and the latter as a cow.

The system of irrigation of land through the canals frequently finds reference in Sūtra period. Kauśika Sūtra[8] states the ritual performed before directing the river and this obviously means the opening ceremony of letting out the river water through the canals.

The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra[9] refers to public wells and dams (Sētus) built by Philonthropists. Dharmapāda a pali work

be assumed grew food crops and cotton. kept considerable herds. The change from a parasitic to a productive life can be definitely seen much earlier than the Indus Vallley Civilisation in the western Asia. In lower Mesapotamia, the great achievement of the Ubaid period (4400 B.C. to 3900 B.C.) was the creation of rural economy, the maintenance of canals, rational utilization of land and water were assured. Gordon Childe —*op. cit.*, p. 118.

5. Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 173, 214. Rigveda—III, 45, 3; X, 43, 7.

6. Ramgopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa Sūtrās* (1953), p. 133; also referred in Macdonnel and Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

7. Macdonnel and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I p. 214. Atharvaveda—III, 13; i, 3, 4; XIX. 2. 2. Also see Muir, *Old Sanskrit Texts*, 5, 466.

8. Ramgopal, *op. cit.*, p. 133. *Kauśika Sūtra*, 50. I-10.

9. Ramgopal, *op. cit.*, p. 133. *Baudhayāna Dharma Sūtra*, II, 3, 5; 5-6.

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of roughly 400 B.C. state speaks of "nettikas" which the commentary explains as "builder of canals and aqueducts."

Manu,[10] the earliest law giver, ordains capital punishment for those who damages or spoils the channels connected with it.

In Sanskrit literature, words like pranāḷi, Kūlya, naḷika, nāḷa, tilāmaka, are used to designate different channels or canals and these point out to the existence of artificial means of irrigation. In chapter 58 of the Anuśāśanikaparvam of Mahābhārata, the construction of tanks, canals, etc., are looked as meritorious deeds. Devīpuraña quotes from Vishnu Dharmmottara that Nadivāhas or small channels, from rivers, were used for watering the fields.

The Kunala Jākata[11] (prior to 4th Cent. B.C.) tells a story of Śakiya and Kōliya tribes fighting for the distribution of water from the dam across the river Hōhini. Vishnu Gupta Kautilya[12] (3rd Cent. B.C.) in his Artha Śāstra—a book on polity, states that the enemy tracts should be flooded by breaking the embankments of canals and dams, etc. The Revenue tax of ¼th from the produce, was paid to the state for using water from the rivers, lakes and dams. Acquatic animals in rivers canals and dams, have to be protected and licences were given for fishing.

The Greek Ambassador, Megasthenese[13] records that the 'District Officers' measure the land and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit.

The Amarakōśa, a work composed in 4th century A.D. distinguished between provinces watered by the rains (Devamatrika) and those irrigated by rivers (nadi-matrikas) which implies the existence of a long net work of canals from the rivers.

10. V. Venkayya, *Irrigation in Southern India in Ancient Times*, A.S.I.R., 1903-4, pp. 202, 204n, *Manu* IX-279, 181.

11. E. B. Cowell, *Jataka Stories*, Vol. I, p. 19. K. M. Gupta, *Land System in South India*, p. 215.

12. *Artha Sastra*, XII—4, II 24, pp. 202-203.

13. Satya Srava, *Irrigation in India through the Ages*, p. 5, leaflet 7. Central Board of Irrigation and Power (1953).

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2. Epigraphical Evidences

Thanks to the Archaeologists many a vivid epigraph are preserved to posterity. From these inscriptions we know much about the construction of tanks, canals, wells, and other stately edifices conducted by great monarchs.

(i) King Nanda of Magadha—396 B.C. who conquered Kalinga, opened out a canal in the Tosali division not far away from the city of Kalinga—295 (?) years before Khāravela's accession. The inscription of Khāravela engraved on the over-hanging brow of the "Hathigumpha", states—

Line II: ... "As soon as he was anointed (as sovereign lord of Kalinga) in the very first year—caused the embankments of the deep and constant tanks to be built up—caused the work of restoration of all gardens—to be done at the cost of thirty five hundred coins and thus enacted as subjects to be pleased.

Line VI: "And then in the fifth year His Majesty caused the canal opened out by king Nanda—A hundred and three years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasūli road and caused it to be dug at the cost of hundred coins".[14]

The date of this monarch is much disputed but may roughly be placed to 1st century of B.C.[15]

(ii) The Famous Girnar rock near Junagarh in Saurastra bears very interesting records of three emperors—

(a) The rock edicts of Asoka (272-232 B.C.).

(b) An inscription of Western Kshatrapa Rudradāman (150 A.D.)

(c) An epigraph of the Gupta King Skanda Gupta (457-455 A.D.).

The classical one is that of Mahakshtrapa Rudradāman's who records the history of the lake "Sudarśana" by significantly referring

14. B. L. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. I. University of Calcutta (1929).

15. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 206, Calcutta, 1942). Also K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Benerjee, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. (20) XX. p. 72.

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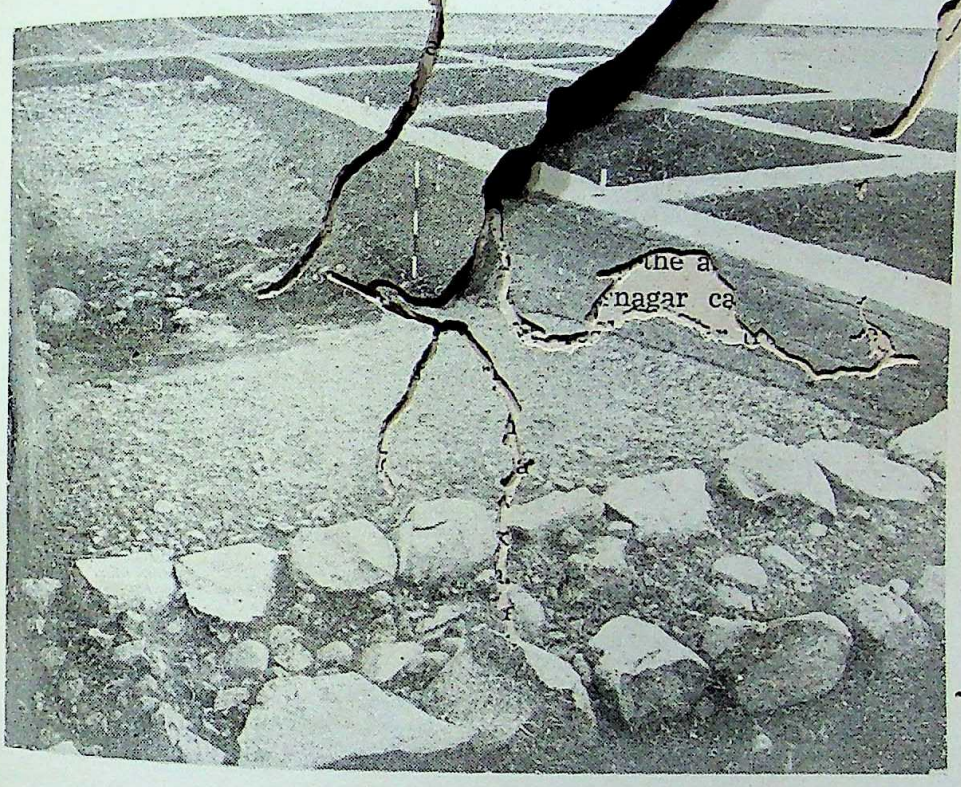

PLATE I. SECTION ACROSS THE IKSHVĀKU CANAL
—*By Courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India.*

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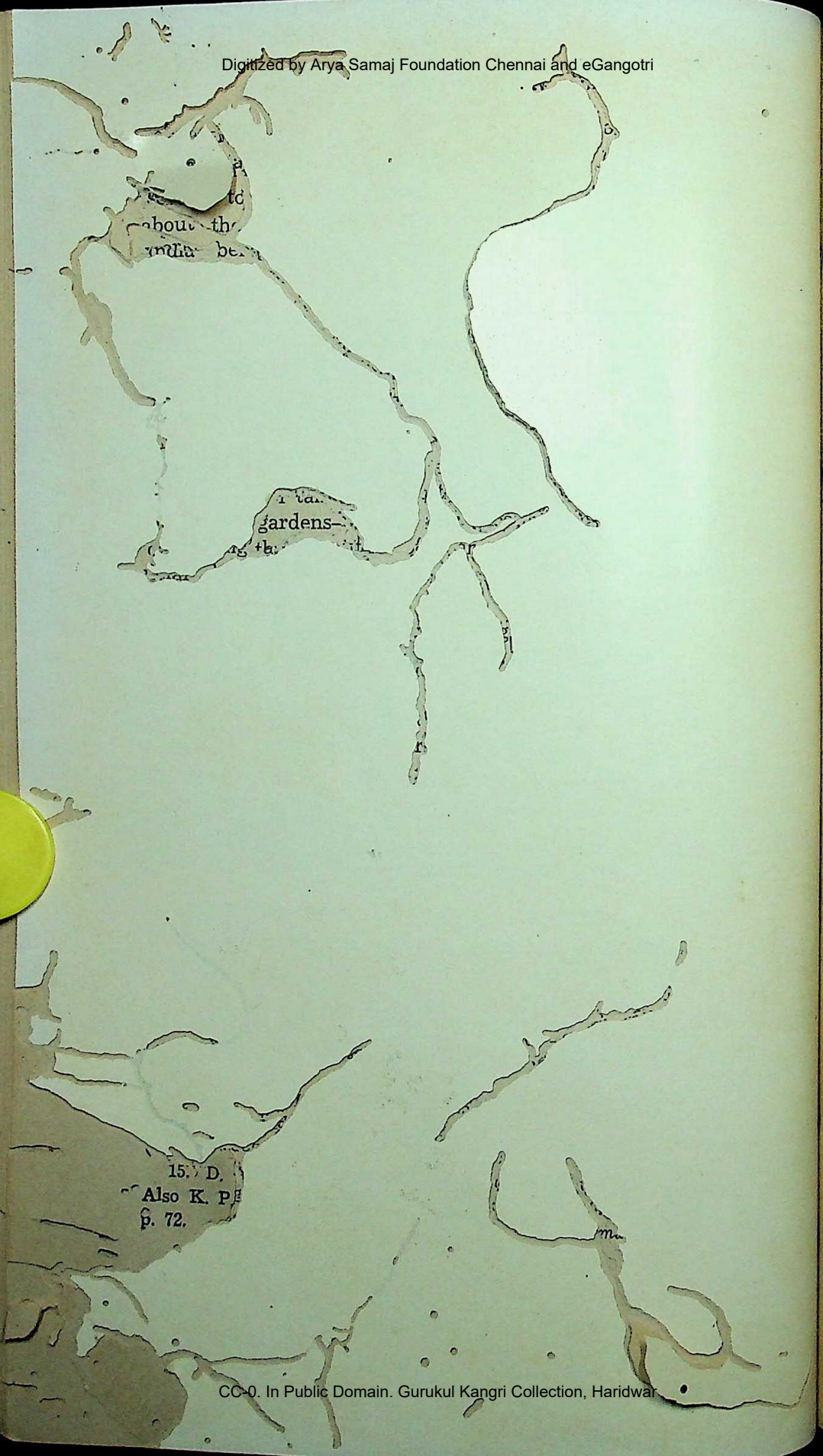

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to the early monarchs of the Mauryan dynasty. The description of the lake runs as below in the very first two lines.[16]

Line I: "To the perfect one! This Sudarsana lake .... possesses a well joined construction rivalling the spurs of the [illegible] because it is entirely closed by an embankment with [illegible] canal broad, long and high (made of) mud and stone...."

Line II: "Which is endowed with a natural embankment *where out lets for the water have been made by means of conducts*, the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine, and which is divided into three parts—

This lake "Sudarśana" was created by Rastriya Pushya Gupta during the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya 324-300 B.C. Later it was Asoka Maurya who endowed it with irrigational canals by the Yavanaraja Tushaspa. Mahakshatrapa Jnagar canan is his 72nd year of his reign records the restoration of the same lake "Sudarśana" which became "Durdarśana" by a devastating storm which took place during his reign and was perfected and made beautiful for ever "Sudarśana ara" by him under the supervision of his provincial Governor Suviśākha.[17]

(iii) The Paramēśwara Tataka in the Chingleput district with its feeding channels from the river Pālār was constructed by Paramēśwara Varman, the great grandson of King Mahendra Varma during the second half of 17th century A.D.[18]

(iv) The Uyyakkondan irrigational channel in Trichinopally district was constructed by Raja Raja I—(985-1013 A.D.) Mr. Sewell in his list of antiquities remarks "there is no doubt that the channel is a very old work".[19]

(v) Tiruvalangadu plates of the sixth year of Rajēndra Chola I, directing the people of the village for the proper usage of water from the canals permitting whereever necessary for digging the minor channels and diverting the springs to the need

16. Bhagawanlal Indraji Pandit and Dr. Buhler, *The Inscriptions of Rudradāman at Junagadh, Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, (1878), p. 259, [illegible] review,
17. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Asoka* p. 27. Publications division [illegible] directly
18. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 154.
19. Sewell *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 269.

[illegible] sis it was [illegible]

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of the people, gives a rather interesting data of the irrigational canals during 1012-1044 A.D.[20]

(vi) An inscription of Parakeswari Varman Uttam Chola about the Konerirajapuram states that "lands shall enjoy the privilege of being irrigated by channels dug out for the distribution of water. Others shall not cut and dig out divisions from these channels.[21]

The two irrigation canals at Lempaka and Talupaka in South India known respectively as "Rayasahasramlla" Kalva and "Gandapendra" Kalva. These were mentioned in the inscription of Ambadeva Maharaja, 1287 A.D.[22]

(vii) During the reign of the Vijayanagara King Bukka Raya 1344-1377 Sri Tanya Bhatta the Hydraulic Engineer (jalasutrada) led the riv gardens with a channel by name "Pratapa Bukkaraya Mandala" channel to Sri Veera Tank at Penugonda.[23] Devaraya I, (1406-1422 A.D.) the son of Harihara II has built an irrigational channel. In 1521 A.D. the great Vijayanagara King Krishna Devaraya dug out the great channel at Koragal from Tungabhadra river. The Basavanna channel by the same monarch is still serving.[24]

The geographical conditions of northern India differed considerably with the southern counterpart and the large portions of land were covered by the rivers itself which were perilous during monsoon but perennial water sources. Hence the necessity of building tanks or dams seems to have not arisen. But canals occupied a prominent place for the purpose of irrigation and they were fed direct from the rivers itself. They also served as "inundation" and "inland navigation" canals.

Feroz Shaw the III, (end of 14th Cent. A.D.) of the Tugluq Kings was the indefatigable builder of several canals of which "Old Jumna Canal" or Feroz Shaws Canals still served and highly

20. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 437, pt. III.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 437.
22. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Vol. 41 (1950-51), pp. 62-63.
15. D. *Graphia Indica*, Vol. X, G.B. 6. Also see Satyasrava, *Irrigation* Also K. P. *Age Ages*, p. 5.
p. 72. *Salary District Manual* p. 231.

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useful for the public. This channel is 30 imperial kos. long was brought direct from the river Jumna.[25]

Shah Jahan (1628–A.D.) revived and extended the irrigational canals. Alimardan Khan who had been familiar with canal systems at Quandahar suggested the emperor Shahjahan (who met him at Lahore towards the end of 1639 A.D.) for tapping the river Ravi. Alimardan Khan's works have been incorporated in the modern systems known as the Bāri, Daub the Rohtak, and the western Jumna canals.[26]

3. *Archaeological Evidences*

Strikingly coinciding with many of the above literary and epigraphical records, the scientific spade of the archaeologist has exhumed relevant data throwing much light on the ancient canals and their structural detail. Except the Besnagar canal in the rest of the evidences mentioned below it would be far from truth to say that they were intended for irrigational purposes.

Besnagar:[27] Besnagar is near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State. As early as 1915 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar carried out excavations on the western tank of the river Bes which yielded a quite interesting canal with the masonary brick walls serving as embankments. Slight slopping (or batter) was deliberately given to these walls which were plastered with lime mortar of a Superstrong quality.[28] The use of such superior kind of lime mortar is not only appropriate but highly essential for such brick walls, which otherwise would have been easily destroyed by the percolation of water. Traces of flight of steps have also been found which suggested the varied utility of the water that was flowing in the canal.

This canal which has been first traced in north-south direction progressed to a length of 185 ft. and turned east-west towards the river Bes, which is hardly two furlongs away from the spot. It measured 7 ft. broad and 5'.6" height and served as

25. Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*. Vol. VII, p. 56[illegible]
26. Cambridge *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 201. [illegible]eview,
27. D. R. Bhandarkar *Excavations at Besnagar. A.S.I.R.*, 1914-15, [illegible] direction 71, Pl. XLIX-A.
28. D. R. Bhandarkar *Op. cit.*, p. 69 on chemical analysis it was found to rival that of the Romans.

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a storage canal, as indicated by the cross walls joining north-south walls at the end. The water was probably brought up by suitable appliances to irrigate the surrounding fields. Dr. Bhandarkar dated this canal to Circa 300 B.C. or probably earlier.[29]

Kumrahar: Another canal going back to Mauryan period was unearthed at Kumrahar, a village 3½ miles to the east of Patna Junction railway station. It is found along with the wooden pillared hall and the working level for the construction of both was the top of layer 11 and hence belonged exactly to the same date. The width of the canal was 13 ft. and in the centre it was 10 ft. deep.[30]

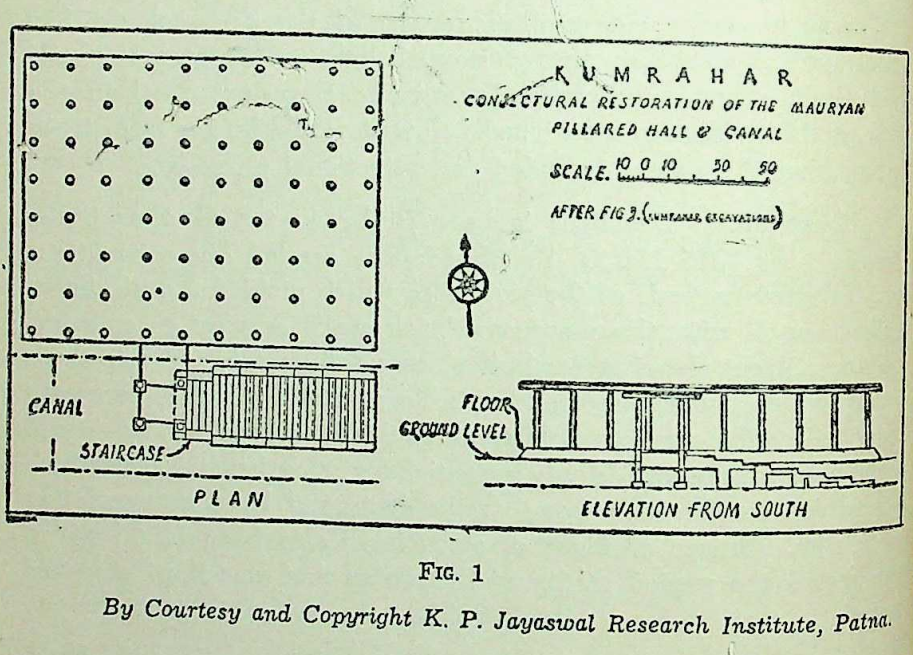

FIG. 1

By Courtesy and Copyright K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

Dr. Altekar states that "this canal was ultimately connected with the Ganga and might have been used to waft, the huge pillars direct to the door of the hall from the chunar quarries where they were probably prepared." The canal bed and the

29. *Ibid.*, p. 70 on grounds of the temple of Vasudeva Circa 165 B.C. which was built on the ruins of the canal. The strata revealed a considerable gap also in between.

30. A. S. Altekar and V. Mishra *Kumrahar Excavations*, (1959), p. 30, Fig. 5.

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Mauryan pillared hall were joined[31] by a broad wooden stair case of 30 steps which was also used by the distinguished visitors who came to the hall by boat. (See figure I). After the destruction of the hall by conflagration the canal got filled up by dark compact clay, coarse sand, and loose soil".

Thus it was meant chiefly for internal transport purposes and hence not possible to say whether it supplied water for irrigating the lands in the vicinity.

Ujjain:[32] A sunk brick lined channel 36 ft. wide at the top 8' 6" at the base was exhumed to a length of 150 ft. which ran south-west and north wards. The limited excavations did not reveal its connection with the river "Sipra which is not far away from the trenches. At the start of the canal there is a big pond like natural depression suggesting to be the feeding agency. It cannot be said with precision whether this canal was used for irrigation or meant as storage canal.

Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa:[33] The recent large scale excavations at Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa brought to light an ancient canal datable to 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., when the illustrious Ikshvāku dynasty ruled over the parts of Āndhra Dēśa with their capital at Vijayapurī in the picturesque valley.

Thanks to the authorities the systematic excavations unfolded a canal to a length of more than 800 yards flowing east west with an average width of 50 ft. and 6 ft. deep.[34]

It is situated in the south-east corner of the valley (see Fig. II) which enjoyed a distinction from the other corners and is especially provided by the lofty hill range on all the sides save at the western. This south-east corner is divided into two

31. Altekar and Mishra *Op. cit.*, p. 25. The excellent congectural restoration of the canal bed and pillard hall stair case is noteworthy and is reproduced here as Fig. 1.

32. N. R. Banerjee *Indian Archaeology*, 1957-'58. A Review, p. 38. Pl. XLIII—A.

33. R. Subrahmanyam *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-'59. A Review, p. 8. Pl. XII—A. The present author had the privilage of being directly associated with this excavation.

34. I am grateful to Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, M.A., Ph.D., for the information.

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halves by a long perpetual nullah, starting from 'Anupu' (590 ft.) and with a more or less due north-west course debounches in another nullah at the south-western tip of the hill Phirangimodu. At this place the canal also seems to have joined with this nullah. The slope of the present ground floor is also in agreement, i.e., from east to west and north-west towards the University site along the base of the hill.

The existence of a canal here was first discovered by the study of surface levels which revealed an unnatural depression of rough-

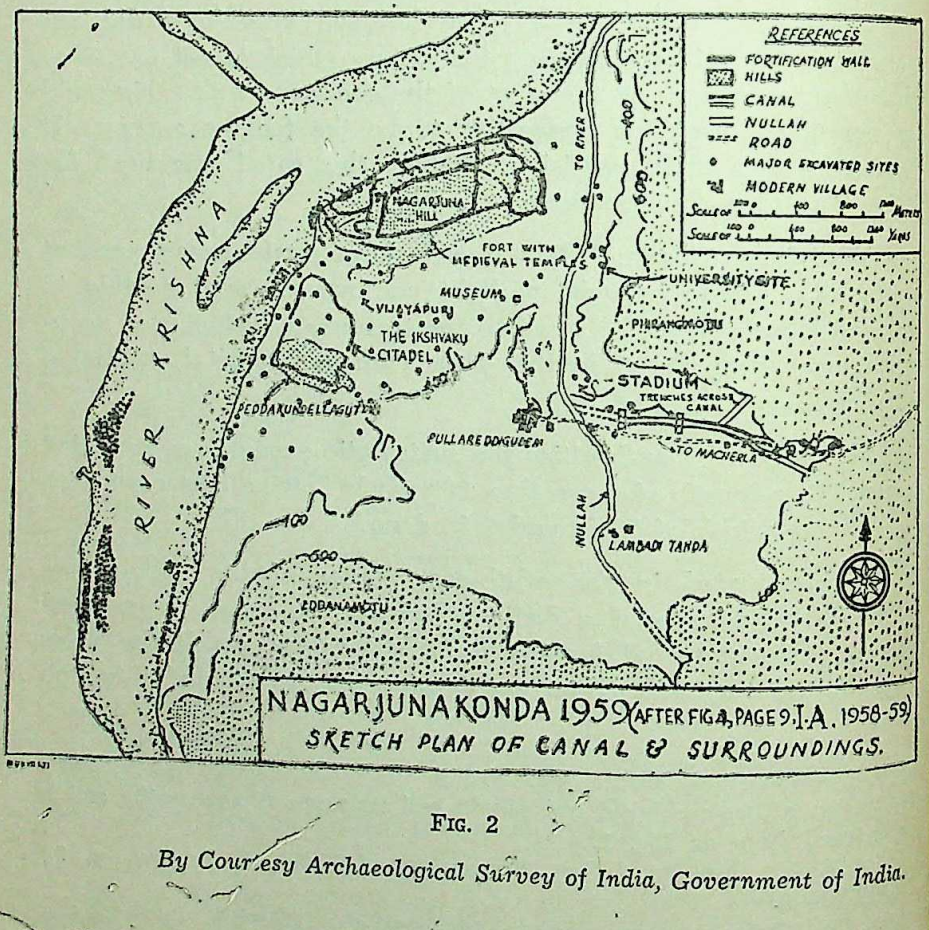

FIG. 2

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ly 30 ft. wide throughout the Phirangimodu hill slope. This phenomena, after careful contouring and scientific vertical trenching, was made conspicuous by the soils from the slopes which

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rushed to fill up the uneven surface when the canal was left unused.

The embankments (vide, Pl. I) were constructed with a hard lime gravel mixed with kankar and stones which were rammed to withstand the rush of water. They were gradually sloped to the canal bed, which also contained similar flooring. It is so hard that even now a heavy dig with a crow-bar or pick over the embankments proves futile. In addition the southern side embankment was further strengthened by a random rubble wall of 4½ ft. wide. This stood as a testimony to the hydraulic skill of the Ikshvāku engineers who knew the danger out of the adjoining hill slopes. In the eastern corner, where the hill range joins angularly, providing a long strip of depression, virtually brought the rain and storm water downwards, to flow into nullahs. Precisely here this artificial canal was probably linked. Excavated trenches at this place revealed the scattered portions of the decayed canal bunds. Several other streamlets also fell into the canal during monsoons.

Though the purpose of such a big canal as this is not legible, it can be reasonably stated that it served as a water source for the dwellings in the vicinity, in particular to the famous Stadium, Hārati temple[35] and great bath, etc. It might have well served as Kumrahar canal too, to the Buddhistic establishments.

The paucity of either the religious or secular edifices, in this area (when compared to the rest of the valley) deem to suggest that this canal was primarily for irrigational purposes. But the idea finds no support when we consider the start of the channel and its feeding agencies. It had no connection with the river Krishna, which is 2½ miles from the site. Probably its foundings became necessary due to this factors itself.

Such huge construction can be borne only by the state and undoubtedly the Ikshvāku kings of Vijayapurī patronised this public cause on quite similar grounds of their ancestors like Chandra Gūpta Maurya, Aśōka, Khāravela and Rudradāman.

35. R. Subrahmanyam, *Indian Archaeology*, 1954-'55. A Review. pp. 22-23, Pl. XLV—A, B.

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Lothal: The earliest and hence the most important was the evidence of a channel and dockyard with embankment walls built out of burnt bricks at Lothal. The dockyard, the earliest single brick structure ever built by the Harappans measured roughly 710 ft. × 120 ft., which was connected by an inlet channel of 23 feet wide cut into the docks at high tide. This dates back to circa 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C.

Thus artificial means of collecting and controling the water sources through canals, tanks and minor channels has been a classical effort of man over natural elements from the dawn of civilization and to this day he is prooved futile. The canals in ancient India, though, were chiefly dug for irrigational purposes, it cannot be dismissed without further proof, that they were not for other purposes like navigation. It is clearly established now that the Harappans had maritime contacts with Sumer and Crete. When such was the knowledge of the most ancient habitat in India, it is needless to say of local commerce carried on boats through the rivers and canal systems. As at Kumrahar the canals were also dug to serve as *Barge-canals,* accommodating inland navigation and other internal means of transport of heavy raw materials to build ancient cities.

36. S. R. Rao, *New Light on the Indus Valley Civilization,* Part I, p. 302. Fig. 10-13. Archaeological Section No. 2045. Illustrated London News, Feb. 24, 1961. Also see *Ind. Arch.* 1958-'59, p. 14. Pl. XV A-B.

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Art of Shipbuilding and Navigation in Ancient India

BY

LALLANJI GOPAL, M.A., D.Phil. (Alld.), Ph.D. (London), F.R.A.S. (London.)

The pet European view about the isolationist character of Indian civilisation has since long been exploded. Instead we see India in ancient times maintaining a brisk maritime connection with regions both in the East and in the West. This activity across vast expanse of sea naturally implies considerable advance in the art of shipbuilding and navigation. Though Dr. R. K. Mookerji[1] did the pioneer work of focussing attention on a number of evidence from different periods of ancient Indian history, a connected account of the advancements made in the art of navigation has not been attempted so far.[2]

1. *Timber for ships*

It is needless to add that ships in ancient India were made of wood,[3] the use of steel being a recent innovation even in European countries. Due importance, however, was attached to selecting wood best suited for the construction of ships. Indians classified woods into several kinds according to their characteristic properties.[4] Bhoja's Yuktikalpataru, which may be taken to represent India's achievements in this sphere, says that a ship built of the kṣatriya class of wood is to be used as means of communication where the communication is difficult owing to vast water; ships made of other kinds of timbers do not last for a long time, they soon rot in water and are liable to be split at the slightest shock and to

1. A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity, London, 1912.
2. The reconstruction made here has to be compared with the description of a ship given by John of Monte Corvino (Yule-Cathay, III, p. 66f). Cf. also references in the early Bengali Caryāpadas to the component parts of boats and sea-going vessels (J.D.L., XXX. 28-30).
3. The Jātakas (II. 111, IV. 20) specifically mention the ships to have been made out of planks of timber.
4. History of Indian Shipping, p. 20.

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sink down.[5] In India there is an abundance of timber suited for the construction of ships and this natural facility must have encouraged the art of shipbuilding in earlier times. We have even evidence suggesting that the Arabs and Persians in order to make strong ships used to import teak wood or cocoanut wood from India.[6].

2. *Parts of a ship*

(a) *Keel, hull*

Of the different essential parts of a ship keel is not indicated in actual representations because the flat portrayals in sculptures or paintings do not leave much scope for that. The hull consisted chiefly of planks joined horizontally. The horizontal planks on the sides of a ship are not only indicated in the representations of ships at Bharhut[7] and Sanchi[8] but also follow from a painting at Ajanta.[9] The sculptures of Borobudur depicting Indian ships suggest[10] that sometimes the horizontal planks were joined to vertical ones serving as ribs and providing a general strength to the frame work of the ship.

Stitching of planks

That planks seem to have been joined by means of stitches of cocoanut fibres. Two representations of ships, one at Bharhut[11] and belonging to the second century B.C. and the other from Sanchi[12] assigned to the first century B.C., depict clearly the stitches that fastened two adjoining planks. This practice left the ships weak with a constant risk that the twine may break under violent waves and winds. The frequent literary references to shipwrecks due to wood planks giving way or water filling in the vessel

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20f. In connection with the naval expedition of Samaraketu, as described in the Tilakamañjari (p. 106), a late work, Tāraka, the chief sailor, reports the construction of ships out of a strong timber.
6. Hourani—Arab Sea-faring, pp. 89-91.
7. Barua—Bharhut, Vol. I, Pl. LX. 14 No. 85.
8. Marshall—Sanchi, II, Pl. LI.
9. Griffith—Ajanta, p. 17.
10. History of Indian Shipping, p. 46 No. 1.
11. *Op. cit.*
12. *Op. cit.*

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through leakings[13] are to be explained as resulting from the natural weakness of sewn ships. When water had crept into the vessel it must have been quite a serious problem. In the Tibetan version of the Avadānaśataka we find among five classes of crews, a reference to sailors who stopped holes.[14] [15] The Arthaśāstra also mentions servants to pour out water.[16] In the Tilakamañjarī we read that the crevices in the ship were caulked before it set sail.[17] The book further refers to the broken planks of the ship being fastened together.[18] The chief sailor used to examine all the joinings and to caulk even small holes with wool and wax.[19] The Jain work Ācārāṅga—sūtra refers to the holes in a ship being blocked, in case of emergency, with any part of a man's body, metallic dishes, clothes, clay, grass or lotus leaves.[20]

Absence of iron nails

The question naturally arises as to why did Indians not use iron nails which ensure the strength of the joints of the planks. In an interesting passage of the Yuktikalpataru, Bhoja says that the planks of a sea-going vessel are to be sewn with ropes and that no iron nails are to be used, for the iron will be influenced by the magnetic rocks in the sea. The passage shows that the use of iron nails was not completely unknown. Moreover, the painting in cave No. XVII of Ajanta[21] depicting the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya probably shows nails fixed in the upper portions of the ship which has horsemen in it. But the use of iron nails must have been extremely rare; foreign travellers since early medieval times notice the method of stitching being employed on the Indian coasts.[22] It is difficult to determine the precise reason for India's neglecting iron in the construction of ships. It is, however, undoubted that

13. J., IV. 10, 16; V. 32-35. Water entering into a ship even through a narrow crevice and then destroying it serves as a traditional comparison in Indian literature—Pañcatantra (Hertel) II, p. 132; III, p. 180 f.
14 & 15. K. A. N. Sastri—Gleanings on Social life from the Avadānas, p. 20.
16. II. 28.
17. p. 109.
18. p. 113—giritaṭāghātavighaṭitaphalakasaṁdhibandhāni yānapātrāṇi.
19. p. 145.
20. II. 3. 1. 10-20.
21. Herringham—Ajanta, P. XLII. 57 (A).
22. al-Masudi q. in Hourani—Arab Sea-faring, p. 96.

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the legend of magnetic rocks, whatsoever might have been its reliability, was at once widespread and deep-rooted among the sailors of the time, being mentioned by Procopius in an Arabic description of an "Expedition against Alexandria and the Travels of Mandeville."[23] Again, we cannot minimise the importance of the proverbial conservatism of a sailor who would not change his traditional ways even after having been acquainted with better alternatives. Iron not being abundant in the south must have served as an additional factor for the sailors retaining the cheap device of stitching.

(b) *Decks and cabins*

We have not much evidence to decide the nature of decks and cabins on Indian ships. The accounts of foreign travellers indicate open ships.[24] But whatever might have been the practice with small ships of early times the sculptured representations from Borobudur[25] reveal some from of decking and fencing on ships which probably carried Indian migrators to the Indonesian islands. The Ajanta ships with three sails also appear to have been decked.[26] The ships at Ajanta[27] and Sanchi[28] have in their chambers indications of cabins. A cabin is shown in the centre of the figure of a vessel from Amaravati generally interpreted as carrying a part of the remains of the Buddha.[29] The Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja mentions three types of ships differentiated on the basis of the length and position of their cabins. The sarvamandirā vessels have the largest cabins extending over the entire area of the ship and are used for the transport of royal treasure, horses and women. The madhyamandirā vessels have their cabins only just in the middle part and are used in the pleasure trips by kings or during rainy seasons. The agramandirā vessels have their cabins towards their prows and are used in the dry season or in cases of long voyages or wars.[30] The ship represented at Sanchi with a prow having the figure of a winged gryphon and with a chamber

23. Hourani—Arab Sea-faring. p. 95.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
25. History of Indian Shipping, p. 46 Nos. 1, 3, 5 and 6.
26. Yazdani—Ajanta, II, Pl. XLII.
27. Griffith—Ajanta, p. 17.
28. Marshall—Sanchi, II, Pl. LXV.
29. Fergusson—Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. LXVIII.
30. History of Indian Shipping, p. 26.

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extending from one end of the ship to the other[31] comes under the category of a sarvamandirā vessel. From Ajanta comes an actual specimen of a madhyamandirā vessel, the figure in question representing a royal pleasure boat having a cabin only in its centre.[32] Another representation from Ajanta shows a cabin towards the prow of the ship with twelve jars in it;[33] it may be taken to belong to the agramandirā type. In the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla, Samaraketu when proceeding to punish turbulent feudatories of Dvīpāntara is said to have entered the cabin erected in the fore part of the vessel.[34] Here are mentioned the two important characteristics of an agramandirā type of vessel viz., its association with a naval expedition and its cabin towards the prow.

(c) *Masts and Sails — number and types of sails*

The Yuktikalpataru has no detailed discussion about masts and sails. At one place, however, it remarks that a vessel is to be painted white, red, yellow or blue respectively as it has four, three, two or one mast.[35] But generally ships are represented to contain two masts. This is the case with most of the figures from Borobudur[36] and on Āndhra coins.[37] Some of the specimens from Borobudur are, however, found to have only one mast.[38] A painting from Ajanta represents a ship even with three masts.[39] The Jātakas also refer to three masts of a ship.[40] The Borobudur sculptures depict ladders to climb up the masts.[41] In the Śaṅkha Jātaka also we read that when the shipwreck was imminent, Śaṅkha climbed up the mast and jumped down in the sea.[42] The sail most common with Indian sailors was one of the square type. In the representation from Ajanta the three sails are of this variety.[43]

31. Griffith—Ajanta, p. 17.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Yazdani—Ajanta, II, Pl. XLII.
34. p. 107.
35. History of Indian Shipping, p. 25.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 46 No. 1; p. 48 Nos. 3, 5.
37. *A.S.I.* (New Imperial Series), XV, p. 29; Elliot—*C.S.I.*, Pl. No. 45.
38. History of Indian Shipping, p. 46 No. 2; p. 48 Nos. 4, 6.
39. Yazdani—Ajanta, II, Pl. XLII.
40. II. 212; III. 126; IV. 17, 21 (Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, p. 61).
41. History of Indian Shipping, p. 48 Nos. 5, 6.
42. IV. 10.
43. Yazdani—*Op. cit.*

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The sculptures from Borobudur also show square sails. Of the two square sails in the ships depicted at Borobudur one is large while the other is a small one. Besides these two sails there was also one stay-sail in front of the ship.[44] The stay-sail is also found in a figure from Ajanta.[45] The representations on Āndhra coins, however, indicate that the lateen sail was not unknown.[46] It appears likely that though both the types, square and lateen were known, square sail was more in use. Pliny refers to the ships plying between Malabar and Ceylon evolving prows and sails which removed the need of turning around while sailing[47] meaning thereby that these masts and sails could be reversed at will and the vessels could sail in either direction. From the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla we get some idea of the actual regulation of the sails and masts.[48] The first thing that Tāraka, the chief sailor, does after hearing of the proposed naval expedition of Samaraketu is to get ropes tied to the sails.[49] In a favourable wind the sails are raised and the ship sets on its course.[50] The ship proceeds on, while the mast is erect and ropes are attached to the sails.[51] The commander suggests that the navy should take a rest because among other reasons the crew is too tired to keep the mast erect. They decide to sew in the meantime the sails, tattered due to violent wind, and to tie ropes to them.[52] In order to halt the ship the sails were loosened and collected.[53] Tāraka, the chief sailor, proves his efficiency by replacing broken ropes by new ones and by testing even strong sails.[54] The Samarāiccakahā of Haribhadra Sūri also contains informative references to sails. In the story of Dharaṇa we read that when the ship was agitated by a violent storm the sails were removed.[55] In another story we find that

44. History of Indian Shipping, p. 46ff Nos. 1, 3. 5.
45. Yazdani—*Op. cit.*
46. *A.S.I.* (New Imperial Series), XV, p. 29.
47. VI. 24.
48. The Milindapañho (II p. 300) utilises the mast with its ropes, braces and sails to serve as an illustration.
49. p. 106—kṛtāni sarvāṇyapi susūtrāṇi yānapātrāṇi.
50. p. 108.
51. p. 109—kūpastambhakānuttaṁbhayadbhiḥ sitapaṭānāsūtrayadbhiḥ.
52. p. 108.
53. p. 114—mukulitasitapaṭeṣu.
54. p. 113.
55. Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, p. 198.

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the sails were spread before the ship set sail and in case the ship went out of control the sails were gathered.[56] All these details are confirmed by Borobudur sculptures representing the crew as working hard over the mast and the sail.[57]

(d) *Outriggers, washbrakes and anchors*

The ships from Borobudur and Ajanta are narrow in shape and top-heavy, hence to ensure their safety outriggers were attached to them.[58] There were also washbrakes to check the force of waves.[59]

The Sanskrit word for anchor is nāṅgara. In the Tilakamañjarī we read that when a ship halted its heavy anchors made of rocks were lowered down.[60] The Milindapañho refers to the two qualities of an anchor viz., it fastens the ship and keeps it still even in the mighty sea, in the expanse of waters agitated by the crowding of ever varying waves, and lets not the sea take it in one direction or another, and secondly it floats not, but sinks down, and even in water a hundred cubits deep holds the ship fast and brings it to rest.[61] The Tilakamañjarī refers to ships being tied to strong wooden poles thrust deep into the earth.[62] At the time of the departure of a ship the rocks which used to restrict its speed were pulled up[63] and the ropes that tied it to the pole were cut.[64]

(e) *Lifeboats*

The sailors who sailed to distant lands found it safe to have a smaller boat attached to their ship, to be used in case the

56. *Ibid.*
57. History of Indian Shipping, p. 46ff Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
59. Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha p. 234 f.
60. p. 114—sarvato'valambitasthūlanāgaraśilānigaḍitapoteṣu. The Samaraiccakahā also refers to the anchors being loosened to stop the drifting of the ship—Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, p. 198.
61. II, p. 299.
62. p. 114—dṛḍhanipātaniṣṭhurakāṣṭhakīlaniyamitanadkeṣu. Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 112.
63. Samaraiccakahā (by Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, p. 198).
64. Divyāvadāna, p. 230.

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bigger one was somehow destroyed.[65] In the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha is the story of Sānudāsa who was rescued by the sailors of a ship spotting his flag on an island and going there in their smaller ships.[66] The Samarāiccakahā also speaks of Kumāra[67] and Dharaṇa[68] being likewise approached and helped. On one of the Borobudur sculptures we find an actual representation of a boat tied to a ship.[69]

3. *Size of ships*

The Yuktikalpataru has an elaborate classification of ships according to their size. Of the two broad division the class of 'ordinary ships' is said to contain ten kinds of vessels with different lengths, breadths and heights. Sea-going vessels are placed as ships of special class with two sub-divisions termed as dirghā and unnatā. The dīrghā sub-class of ocean-going ships has ten types all remarkable for their lengths. On the other hand the five types of ships included in the unnatā sub-class are characterised by their considerable heights.[70]

4. *Tonnage and capacity of ships*

Besides the evidence bearing on the size of ships, we have some other indications as well of the tonnage and capacity of the ships. The Vālahassa Jātaka speaks of five hundred traders who were involved in a shipwreck.[71] The Suppāraka Jātaka refers to seven hundred souls aboard a ship.[72] The Samuddavānija Jātaka relates the story of a village of carpenters containing a thousand families which sailed down the Ganges, with all its members on a ship.[73] In the Mahājanaka Jātaka we read that a prince along with some merchants and his stock-in-trade boarded a ship on which were

65. Fa-hsien (p. 111) says that the ship in which he left India for China had a smaller vessel attached to it by a rope as a provision against damage or injury to it from the perils of the navigation.
66. XVIII. 314 ff.
67. Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, p. 198.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
69. History of Indian Shipping, p. 48 No. 5.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-24.
71. II. 128.
72. IV. 138 ff.
73. IV. 159.

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seven caravans with their beasts.[74] The Buddhist literature is indeed full of references to passengers in hundreds undertaking voyages to distant places.[75] But the fancy of the Buddhists for using round figures in seven or five hundreds may be taken by some to suggest that the figures are exaggerated. Even then this much is to be conceded that there must have been some basis for these figures. Fa-hsien states that the ship in which he sailed contained about two hundred passengers.[76] He thus corroborates these references and implies that the ships were spacious enough to accommodate large numbers of passengers. The Ajanta paintings depicting Vijaya's landing in Ceylon represent the ships as carrying elephants and horses.[77] Pliny describing the trade between Malabar and Ceylon says that the tonnage of the vessels is 3000 amphorae or 75 tons.[78]

Names of the ships in the Periplus—Evidence of the Aṅgavijjā

The Periplus mentions four names of Indian ships viz. Cotymba, Trappaga, Sangar and Colyndia. Speaking about the difficulties one had to face in sailing to Barygaza through a Gulf difficult to navigate, the Periplus[79] records that because of these hardships "native fishermen in the King's service stationed at the very entrance in well-manned large boats called Trappaga and Cotymba, go up the coast as far as Syrastrene from which they pilot vessels to Barygaza." The ship named Sangara has been mentioned in connection with ports of the south.[80] It was made of two boats joined by a deck platform.[81] But the ships that sailed up the mouth of the Ganges and the Golden islands were larger still and were called Colyndia.[82] These names baffled for a long time the attempts of scholars to find their explanations. But the

74. VI. 32 ff.
75. Hardy—Manual of Buddhism, pp. 13, 57. 260. The Mahāvaṁsa (Tr. by Turnour, pp. 46, 47, 51) also mentions ships with seven or eight hundred passengers on them. The Divyāvadāna (pp. 4 ff, 229) also at many places refers to five hundred merchants proceeding on voyages to far off lands.
76. p. 111.
77. Herringham—Ajanta, Pl. LXII. 57.
78. N.H., VI. 24.
79. *44.
80. *60.
81. Schoff—Periplus, p. 243.
82. *60.

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controversy seems to be finally settled by a passage from the Aṅgavijjā noticed for the first time by Dr. Motichandra.[83] This passage gives a long list of the names of ships and classifies them into four. In the first group are ships largest in size and called ṇāva or pota. Among the ships of middle size are those named koṭṭiba, sāṁghāḍa, plava and tappaka. In the third group are placed the ships known as kaṭṭha and velu. The ships smallest in size were called tuṁba, kuṁbha and datī. It is apparent that Cotymba, Trappaga, Sangar and Colyndia of the Periplus are to be identified respectively with koṭṭiba, tappaka, sāṁghāḍa and kolla of the Jain work. The most noteworthy point in this reference is the use of the name Sāṁghāḍa for sangar. Previously, there was much confusion about the common source for Sangar of the Periplus, Jangar of the Malabar coast, Jaṁghāla of the Yuktikalpataru, the Tamil—Malayali word Sangadam or Channātam and the Chinese name Junk.[84] The term saṁghāḍa in this Jain work conclusively shows that these different terms are to be traced originally to the Sanskrit form saṁghāḍa. From Sanskrit it was borrowed through the Madras sea-coast to Malaya and China. Thus the credit for Junk and other allied vessels is to be assigned to the Indians.

6. *Speed of ships*

It is really unfortunate that Indian literature has not recorded the speed of the ships of those times. However, I-tsing helps us a lot by recording the days taken by him to cover different places from Canton to Tāmralipti as also by two other pilgrims from Chen-wan (in Tonkin) to Ceylon.[85] If on the basis of the time indicated here we calculate in the case of the different stages we find the speed per hour to range between two miles to four miles. A greater speed of about four to six miles per hour may be allowed so as to provide even for the time spent at different places of halt and included in the figures given by I-tsing. A remarkable testimony about the speed of Indian ships is found in the Mahājanaka Jātaka. Here in seven days the ship is said to have covered seven hundred leagues. This would amount to a speed of 4⅓ leagues

83. Introduction to the Sārthavāha, p. 10.
84. Schoff—Periplus, p. 243; J.U.P.H.S., XXIV-XXV, p. 184 f.
85. K. A. N. Sastri—Foreign Notices. p. 108.

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per hour. But we have to note the element of exaggeration implied in the traditional number of seven employed here. Moreover, the passage itself shows that it was not the normal speed of a ship for we read that "having gone too violently in its course the ship could not hold out".[86]

7. *Knowledge of winds*

The ships were dependent upon trade winds to a very great extent and it was only with a favourable wind that the ship could set sail.[87] The naval activity being so largely dependent upon winds it was but natural that winds should be observed closely and studied. The Āvaśyakacūrṇi names sixteen types of winds.[88] Such a thorough knowledge of winds must have considerably facilitated the work of Indian sailors. The names of twelve winds mentioned by Abū Hanifa Dainūri, an Arab pilot of the twelfth century, in his work on nautical science,[89] are also included in the Jain list of sixteen, revealing thus a clear case of borrowing. This implies that the Indian sailor was recognised to possess a developed knowledge of nautical science.

8. *Determination of direction* - (a) *land-sighting birds*

A knowledge of some device for finding out direction on the sea is one of the essentials for naval activity. The use of direction-giving crows is a practice going back to early times. In the Ṛgveda we find Bhujyu, when involved in a shipwreck, despatching birds to find out the coasts.[90] But this practice refers to a

86. VI. 32 ff.

87. In the Tilakamañjarī (p. 108) we read that the wind blowing in a favourable direction, the sails were hoisted. Later when the wind was not in his favour the commander suggested a halt for the navy (p. 113). The Divyāvadāna (p. 230) at one place speaks of a ship gathering pace with a favourable wind. The Jain work Āvaśyakacūrṇi (p. 69) recognises that much of the success of a voyage depended upon the winds. Subsequently the same work (p. 387A) remarks that a ship under an able captain could sail to a desired port if it did not leak, there being no storm in the sea and a favourable garjabha wind blowing.

88. p. 386.

89. Islamic Culture, 1941, p. 443.

90. VI. 62. 2. The well-known story of Baveru Jātaka (III. 267) also attests that Indian sailors had with them direction-giving crows.

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period when the sailors had not much knowledge either of the sea or even of their destination. It would more suit the period of early explorers. A passage in the early Pali literature clearly shows that this early crude method was being replaced by another device. The passage states: "Long long ago, sea-faring traders were wont, when they were setting sail on an ocean voyage, to take with them a land-sighting bird. And when the ship got out of sight of the shore they would let the land-sighting bird free. Such a bird would fly to the East, and to the South and to the West and to the North, to the zenith and to the intermediate points. And if anywhere on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither would it fly. But if no land, all round about, were visible, it would come back even to the ship".[91] The survival of the practice among some less advanced and conservative sections of the Taprobane sailors is attested to by Pliny.[92] However, with the accumulation of a certain amount of exact knowledge of the destination land and the route to it, the necessity arose for some precise and reliable device to determine the direction to which to sail. And here steps in Astronomy.

(b) *Bearing of astronomical knowledge*

The astronomical study considerably facilitated the activities across the sea. The clear tropical sky provided the sailors with a constant guide to point out their direction. The recognition of the importance of astronomy for nautical activities is illustrated best by the reference to the subjects, the knowledge of which, gave Supāraga proficiency in navigation.[93] Knowing the course of the celestial luminaries, he was never at a loss with respect to the regions of the sky; being perfectly acquainted with the different prognosties, the permanent, the occasional, and the miraculous ones, he was skilled in the establishment of a given time as proper or improper; by means of manifold marks, observing the

91. Dīgha, XI. 85.
92. N.H., VI. 22.
93. Jātakamālā, p. 125. In the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla (p. 119) when the ship is threatened by a storm Tāraka, the chief sailor, is reported to have addressed a member of the crew thus: "Rājilaka, the ship is sailing towards the South, even when I have ordered otherwise. It seems that you have lost all sense of direction. Even being told you do not know the North side. Look at the group of seven stars and turn the ship back."

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fishes, the colour of the water, the species of the ground, birds, rocks, etc., he knew how to ascertain rightly the part of the sea.

The history of the astronomical study in India goes back to an early period. It began with the necessity to determine the time and season of starting and ending a sacrifice. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga is a separate subject auxiliary to the study of the Vedas.[94] The study seems to have received an impetus due to a contact with Greece and Rome.[95] Āryabhaṭa and Varāhamihira did a lot to place Indian astronomy on a scientific footing.

(c) *Mariner's compass*

There is no definite evidence about the use of the mariner's compass in our period. As regards its use even elsewhere, the authorities generally hold that though the magnetic needle was not unknown in ancient China, its use as mariner's compass cannot be placed much before the end of the eleventh century.[96] Inspite of this it has been maintained by some that the figure at the prow of Indian ships in the Borobudur sculptures appears to represent a compass.[97] The figure however, is not very clear; it may with equal force be interpreted as an ornamental design. The Milindapañho records that the pilot of a ship had an instrument of which he took great care and which he did not allow others to touch.[98] The suggestion that the instrument might have been a compass though not improbable does not have much force.[99] Early Hindu astrologers are known to have used a device resembling a compass and consisting of an iron fish that floated in vessels of oil and pointed to the North.[100] "Maccha-yantra" is taken to be the Sanskrit word for mariner's compass.[101] It is possible that the sailors had adopted the instrument for their purposes. But there are indications to show that even this simple form of compass

94. For Jain School of astronomy—I.H.Q., VIII, pp. 30 ff, 565 ff.
95. Articles on Astronomy in the Classical Age N.H.I.P., Vol. VI, Cultural Heritage of India.
96. Hourani—Arab Sea-faring, p. 108 f.
97. History of Indian Shipping, p. 47.
98. II, p. 30.
99. Moti Chandra-Sārthavāha, pp. 147, 209; History of Indian Shipping, p. 48, f.n.
100. Bombay Gazetteer, XIII, Part ii, Appendix A.
101. History of Indian Shipping, p. 48 f.n.

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could not have been much used for nautical purposes. Firstly, in none of the references to ships losing the sense of direction do we find any mention of the use of a compass. Moreover, under a sky with luminary bodies generally visible without much obstruction, Indian sailors with their knowledge of practical astronomy had not much of a necessity to resort to any other device.

(d) *Log books*

Indian sailors appear to have maintained a record of the location of places visited by them or known to them otherwise. They utilised this knowledge in their subsequent voyages. In the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha[102] we read that Manohara, in the course of his voyage, found out the Śṛṅgavāna mountain and the city of Śrīkuñjanagara and in a book recorded it clearly together with the sea and the location of direction in which it was situated. It would thus appear that the Indian sailors on the basis of a first hand information prepared and maintained works like the Periplus. It is really unfortunate that no single specimen of such a record has survived to illustrate the geographical discoveries made by Indian sailors. The story of Suppāraga[102a] shows that an experienced and informed sailor knew many lands of which others had not even heard, and he used to guide his ship to these areas, evidently on the basis of the knowledge he derived from accounts of previous sailors recorded in log books.

9. *Sailors and their organisation*

Literary works suggest that ships were plied by expert sailors whose occupation was hereditary. Some occasional merchants might have had their own ships but the general practice was to hire ships from sailors. In the Avadāna-śataka a passage[103] speaks of a ship being hired for five hudred purāṇas. The same passage refers to five types of sailors that manned the ship viz., pump-makers, oarsmen, fishermen, those who stopped holes and pilot.[104] The Arthaśāstra mentions captain, steersman and servants to hold the sickle and the ropes and to pour out water.[105] The Milindapañho

102. IX. 107.
102a. J., IV. 138 f; Jātakamālā, p. 88 ff.
103. I. 200; II. 61.
104. K. A. N. Sastri—Social Life from the Avadānas, p. 20.
105. II. 28—śāsakaniyāmakadātraraśmigrāhakotsecakāḥ.

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refers to the continuous and unceasing zeal and effort with which the pilot, day and night, navigates his ship and to his knowledge of all that is in the sea, whether good or bad.[106] The status and sense of responsibility of a sailor is best clear from the Milinda-pañho in which a sailor is said to think: "I am a hireling, and am working for my wage on board this ship. By means of this ship is it that I get food and clothing. I must not be lazy, but zealously navigate the ship".[107] The sailors seem to have been organised into associations with their respective group leaders.[108] The leadership appears to have been hereditary. In the Tilaka-mañjarī we read that Tāraka was made the chief of the sailors by Candraketu who regarded him as his own son-in-law.[109] The education in the nautical science which was imparted to Suppā-raga in his young age[110] also implies that the sons of the chief navigators were trained to follow in the footsteps of their fathers and to become successful pilots. The merchants always tried to have the guidance of experienced pilots even if they were incapacitated by old age or other physical defects.[111]

106. II, p. 300 f.
107. II, p. 302.
108. J., IV. 87 f, 137; Jātakamālā, p. 88 ff.
109. p. 106.
110. J., IV. 87 f: Jātākamālā, p. 88 ff.
111. *Ibid.*

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Notes on the Yelavatti Inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Viragaṁgi

BY

K. V. Ramesh

The inscription in question[1] was copied by the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund in the year 1953 from a slab found lying in the compound of the Guṇḍaliṅga temple at Yalavatti in the Sirhatti Taluk of Dharwar District, Mysore State. It is engraved in Kannaḍa characters of the typical Chalukyan variety. The language which is also Kannaḍa, with a mixture of prose and verse, is mostly pure, though mistakes committed by the engraver are not by any means few.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Chāḷukya-Vikramachakravarti Tribhuvanamalla Vīragaṁgi and is dated in the śaka year 1073, expressed in words, which year was Prajāpati, on the twelfth day of the bright half of Āshāḍha, Budha-vāra or Wednesday, dakshiṇāyana-*saṁkramaṇa*. The details of the date regularly correspond to A.D. 1151, June 27, Wednesday. It registers the grant of 12 *mattars* of land lying to the west of the temple to the God (Svayaṁbhū Guṇḍēśvara, and of a house situated to the west of the *sabhāmaṇṭapa* of Māguṭa(?) to the *maṭha* (attached to the temple?) by the 'One hundred and twenty' *mahājanas* of the *mahāgrahāra* Eḷavartti. It also records the grant, by the same persons to the deity Svayaṁbhū Guṇḍēśvara, of the proceeds of the taxes to be collected from merchants coming from outside the *mahāgrahāra* of Eḷavartti, with the exception of those merchants who serve as tenants in the lands wherein cotton is cultivated, at the rate of one *hāga* for each *hon* for every article they sell (in the *mahāgrahāra*). These gifts were made with a view to providing for the offerings of food and decorations to God Svayaṁbhū Guṇḍēśvara. For purposes of burning the perpetual lamp (in the temple) an oil mill (*gāṇa*) was also donated.

1. A.R. Ep. for 1953-54, No. 213.

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As has already been stated, this epigraph, issued in 1151 A.D., refers to the reigning king as Tribhuvanamalla Vīragaṁgi, 'the heavenly sun of the family of the Chāḷukyas (*chāḷukya-vaṁśa-vyom-ārkkam*). The kingdom of the Chāḷukyas was at that time under the rule of Taila III who had ascended the throne somewhere between 1149-50 A.D.

In the many high-sounding titles attributed to the king it is claimed that he had vanquished the rulers of Māḷava, Āndhra, Gūrjjara and Aṅga. He is further described as *Chāḷukya-vikrama-Chakravartti*.

This record is of importance in so far as it helps us to offer a possible solution to the problem that faces the student of Chāḷukyan history because of the occurrence of more than one *-malla* title in the case of Chāḷukyan monarchs of the 12th century. It is well known that Taila III had been using the title *Trailōkya-malla*. The previous ruler to have had the title *Tribhuvanamalla* was Vikramāditya VI who ended his reign sometime in the year 1126 A.D. And before Sōmēśvara IV, the next ruler with *Tribhuvanamalla* as his popular title, could make himself the master of the kingdom of his ancestors, almost six decades had to pass by. This interval of about sixty years was covered by the reigns of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III (1126-38), Perma Jagadēkamalla II (1138-55), Trailōkyamalla Taila III (1149/50-63) and Jagadēkamalla III (1163-84).

The most interesting feature of the epigraphy of the western Chāḷukyan kingdom in the twelfth century lies in the fact that inscriptions referring themselves to the reign of a Tribhuvanamalla have been found to occur during these sixty years, touching the reigns of all the four kings mentioned above. Thus inscriptions dated in 1131,[2] 1134,[3] 1137[4] and 1138[5] A.D., when Sōmēśvara III was ruling, others dated in 1139[6] and 1141[7] A.D., when Jagadēkamalla II was the king, one dated in 1154[8] A.D., when,

2. *A.R.* No. 204 of 1913; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 225.
3. *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V, Cn. 248.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Cn. 161.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak. 124.
6. *Ibid.*, Hn. 114; Ak. 105.
7. *A.R.* No. 393 of 1920; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 236.
8. *Ep. Carn.* Vol. V, Cn. 228.

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besides the inscriptions of Jagadēkamalla, those of Taila III also begin to occur, some dated in 1159,[9] 1161[10] and 1162[11] A.D., when Taila III was the sole ruler and a few others dated in 1169[12] and 1174 A.D.,[13] when Jagadēkamalla III was ruling the kingdom, all refer themselves to the reign of king Tribhuvanamalla, to whom are attributed all the imperial titles of the Chāḷukya dynasty. The assignment of these Tribhuvanamalla epigraphs to the proper kings would, no doubt, greatly help to lessen the confusion in the history of the Chāḷukyas of this period. As a matter of fact the Chāḷukya kings, especially those that came after Vikramāditya VI, began using more than one of the *-malla* titles though, of course, each king was known to have used one such title more frequently. Thus apart from the occurrence of a number of Tribhuvanamalla-inscriptions during the reign periods of all the Chāḷukya kings of the 12th century, inscriptions of an Āhavamalla (1134 A.D.)[14] in the reign of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III, of a Jagadēkamalla (1160 A.D.)[15] in the reign of Traiḷōkyamalla Taila III and of a Jagadēkamalla (1185, 1188 and 1194 A.D.)[16] when Tribhuvanamalla Sōmēśvara IV was the king have been brought to light. While writing on these inscriptions Lewis Rice rightly observed—"The Chāḷukyas (of the twelfth century)[17] are named mostly by their titles, and these appear to be used so loosely that it is difficult to make the dates fit in with the accepted lists. Their supremacy was evidently little more than nominal during much of the period."[18] For it is true that most of the Chāḷukyan inscriptions of this period, after Vikramāditya VI, are nothing but epigraphs issued by one or the other of their feudatories wherein is merely acknowledged the nominal supremacy of the Lords of Kalyāṇa. The obvious implication of the above statement of Rice is that these inscriptions, irrespective of the titles found therein, should be assigned to the respective rulers on the basis

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sa. 159.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak. 117.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kd. 72; Vol. XII. Tp. 61.
12. *A.R. Ep.*, 1923, App. B, No. 461.
13. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 229.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, jb. 34, Vol. V, Ak. 30.
15. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 267.
16. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, ck. 14, 20, 16.
17. The contents inside the bracket are ours.
18. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Intdn., p. 7.

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of the dates given; and we believe that the problem is best solved by thus observing chronological discrimination. After all, the feudatories, among them the Hoysaḷas and the Kalachuris, powerful and insubordinate as they were, must have taken more of care in giving the correct dates than in proclaiming the imperial titles of their unwanted sovereigns.

This would seem to suggest that the inscription of Tribhuvanamalla Vīragaṁgi, the subject of this paper, dated in A.D. 1151 must have been issued by a king no other than Taila III himself. It is not impossible that the kings, who came after the first quarter of the twelfth century assumed the title *Tribhuvanamalla*, though only occasionally, as a sign of vanity, for it had been used by their great ancestor Vikramāditya VI. Nor does the argument in favour of Taila III having used the title *Tribhuvanamalla* go without any epigraphic support. An inscription discovered at Lakkuṇḍi in the Gadag Taluk of Dharwar District in Mysore State, which is dated in Prajāpati, Pushya, Amāvāsya, Sunday corresponding exactly to A.D. 1151, December 9, Sunday refers itself to the 3rd year of the reign of Chāḷukya-Vikrama-chakravartin Tribhuvanamalla, whose accession date thus falls somewhere in 1149-50, which is also the accepted date of accession for Taila III.

Obviously with a view to removing the apparent historical incongruity it has been suggested elsewhere[19] that Tribhuvanamalla-inscriptions bearing dates subsequent to A.D. 1158 should be assigned to Sōmēśvara IV, who, as is well known, commenced his rule in about A.D. 1184. A close study of the Western Chāḷukyan inscriptions of this period however shows that such a conclusion is difficult to accept. It was customary among the Noḷamba-Pallavas, the Uchchhaṅgi-Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas of Niḍugal to prefix to their own names, the *-malla* title of the particular Chāḷukya king under whom they had to serve as feudatories. This title thus assumed once continued to be the same till the overlord was removed by death, irrespective of the fact that another ruler may have come to power either as absolute or as joint ruler in the meanwhile. Thus Jagadēkamalla Vīra-pāṇḍya, the feudatory of Perma Jagadēkamalla II continued to have the same *-malla* title even after 1149-50 A.D. when Trai-

19. *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā*, Vol. 37, pp. 117-127.

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ḷōkyamalla Taila III had assumed powers as joint ruler, because Jagadēkamalla continued to be acknowledged as one of the kings right till 1155 A.D.[20] An instance where the same feudatory changed his title and continued to rule under the successor of his erstwhile master is met with in the person of the Niḍugaḷ Chōḷa chief Traiḷōkyamalla Mallidēva Mahārāja, who, on the death of his sovereign Taila III, continued to rule under the latter's successor Jagadēkamalla III, as Jagadēkamalla Mallidēva Mahārāja.[21] Also the fact that the feudatory thus declared to be under a prince or a king continued to possess the same title as a prefix to his name, unless the king or the prince himself changed his, is attested to by the instance of Trailōkyamalla Taila III and his feudatory. An inscription of Vikramāditya VI, dated in 1122 A.D.,[22] mentions Traiḷōkyamalla (Mallidēva Chōḷa Mahārāja)[23] as a feudatory accredited to Kumāra Tailapa, (*i.e.* Traiḷōkyamalla Taila III). And when subsequently Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III succeeded to the throne in 1126 A.D. the feudatory continued to have the same title of Traiḷōkyamalla prefixed to his name.[24]

Let us now apply the same conditions to the reign-periods of the last three Chāḷukya rulers, Taila III, Jagadēkamalla III and Somēśvara IV. The Niḍugal Chōḷa feudatory, mentioned as the son of Iruṅgoḷa Chōḷā-Mahārāja, appears as Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa Mahārāja in 1162 A.D.[25] and sometime before 1169 A.D.[26] he changed this prefix to Jagadēkamalla. This more than clearly implies a definite change of person on the throne

20. *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 265.
21. *A.R. Ep.*, 1926-27. App. F, No. 54.
22. *A.R.* No. 341 of 1920; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 202.
23. Though the epigraph is worn out and the name is readable only upto Traiḷōkyamalla, there is no doubt that the chief mentioned was the Niḍugal Chōḷa. The Uchchaṅgi-Pāṇḍya of this period had the prefix of Tribhuvanamalla.
24. *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 227 and 228.
25. *A.R.* No. 15 of 1917; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 268.
26. *A.R.* No. 733 of 1917; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 270. The fact that this chief made use of *Traiḷōkyamalla, Tribhuvanamalla,* and *Jagadēkamalla* as prefixes to his name during the reign-periods of only two monarchs, Taila III and Jagadēkamalla III, the prefix Tribhuvanamalla touching both the reigns, shows that both the monarchs were wont to use the title Tribhuvanamalla.

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sometime between 1162 A.D. and 1169 A.D. If Somēśvara IV alone had the title of Tribhuvanamalla and that too since 1158 A.D., the Niḍugal Chōḷa Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva could have been only his feudatory and, if this were the fact, he would not have changed the prefix of his name to Jagadēkamalla sometime before 1169 A.D., for Somēśvara IV continued to live for about three decades after that date. The king Tribhuvanamalla of 1162 A.D. and earlier therefore was not the same as Somēśvara IV. Nor was he a prince of the family or a member of some family branch. He was the absolute king of the Chāḷukya country and its absolute king on that date was Taila III. It is thus apparent that Taila III himself had used two titles, the one *Traiḷōkyamalla,* more frequently than the other, *Tribhuvanamalla.* Therefore we may believe that the present epigraph was issued by Taila III himself.

This view helps us to solve one more problem—we will be able to date the death of Taila III within the sphere of a month. An inscription of Tribhuvanamalla from Hēmāvati in Maḍakasira Tāluk of Anantapur District, Andhra State, is dated A.D. 1162, December 25, Monday.[27] The Anmakonda inscription of Rudradēva is dated in the last week of January, 1163 A.D.,[28] and declare that Taila III had died of *dysentery* on hearing the name of Pratāparudra. As this fact is mentioned the earliest only in that epigraph we will not be far from the truth in assuming that Taila's death must have occurred sometime between December 25, 1163 A.D., and the last week of January 1163 A.D.[29]

The mention of the king's name as Tribhuvanamalla Vīragaṁgi is of great interest, for this is the only inscription where we find a Chāḷukyan monarch assume the title *Vīragaṁgi.* Though absent among the various titles of the Chāḷukya kings, *Vīragaṁgi* occurs in a slightly modified form as an epithet of the Hoysaḷa kings. Thus Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1100-1152) and his

27. *A.R.* No. 15 of 1917; *S.I.I.* Vol. IX, Part I, No. 268.
28. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 9.
29. In page 4 of Indian Antiquary, Vol. 48 Sri Venkatasubbhiah has attempted to prove, on the basis of the date given in the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Traiḷōkyamalla, that he was alive on the 17th of June 1163. We, however, agree with Dr. Fleet who in p. 462 of the 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts' declares the above inscription to be incorrect and unreliable.

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successors had the title *Vīragaṁgapratāpa*. It is almost certain that the title *Vīragaṁgi* was borrowed from the *Vīragaṁgapratāpa* of the Hoysaḷas and was evidently assumed by the Chāḷukya king as a mark of his supremacy over the Hoysaḷas. Thus the title *Vīragaṁgi* borne by the king perhaps shows his mastery not so much over the kingdom of the Gaṅgas as on the Hoysaḷa contemporary.[30]

Taila III is often dubbed as an incompetent ruler by modern historians. If it is true that Taila had been a mere kinglog, not only will it be difficult to understand the reason why he used such high-sounding titles even while he was in the midst of deadly opportunists, but even the partial recovery of the kingdom under the initiative of Sōmēśvara IV would have been impossible. It will be nearer the truth perhaps to say that the seriousness of the chaos that prevailed in that period, rather than Taila's personal incompetence was responsible for the eclipse of the Chāḷukyan empire in about 1163 A.D. At the same time we can not credit him with all the victories he lays claim to at the outset in this epigraph. He perhaps inherited these titles from his grandfather, the great Vikramāditya VI. It is not impossible that Taila III had a part to play in the victories of his grandfather and thus he may have deserved these titles in a special way.

30. The most interesting political feature in the second half of the twelfth century in the south was the quick development of the Hoysaḷa family into an imperial ruling class. By the time of Taila's accession in 1149-50 A.D., the Hoysaḷas had attained to great and formidable power. Yet they continued to acknowledge the Chāḷukyan supremacy, with a view to promote, thereby, the interests of their own power. At the time of the death of Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana in 1152 A.D., the Chāḷukyas under Jagadēkamalla II and Taila III were still the greatest imperial family of the Deccan, though their power was, even then, being steadily undermined. Any sudden dynastic revolutions at that time, in which the Hoysaḷas took no effective role, may have ended in the Hoysaḷas, besides the Chāḷukyas. being swept out of the political arena of the South. And the Hoysaḷas, with Vishṇuvardhana nearing the end of his reign, were definitely unwilling to start a chaos for capturing power. Instead they must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Chāḷukyas, so as to keep in check the subversive activities of the Kaḷachuris who like the Hoysaḷas, were eager to succeed to the power and kingdom of the Chāḷukyas. This action of the Hoysaḷas seems to have had two effects. As expected, it delayed the Kaḷachuris in reaching the climax of their power and also seems to have encouraged Taila III to assume high-sounding titles.

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Cunningham, the Historian of the Sikhs

BY

A. S. Bhasin

Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham, son of the author of the folklores of Scotland[1] and the "Lives of the most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects".[2] Allan Cunningham, was the eldest son of the Cunningham family. He with his second brother Alexander Cunningham, made the most valuable contributions to the historical literature of India. While Alexander as the first archaeological surveyor of India dug out the wealth of our historical past, and thereby won for him both name and fame in his own life time,[3] the elder Cunningham immortalised himself by writing the first comprehensive history of the Sikhs from their origin down to his own time.[4]

Captain Cunningham undertook the duties of a historian in no light spirit, in no inconsiderate mood. He shrank from no amount of labour for he was a labourious, painstaking and manifestly conscientious writer. He wrote with candour and veracity and it is one of the traits of truth that it excites offence.

So it happened with Cunningham whose history of the Sikhs[5] on its first appearance in 1849 though received with the greatest favour by the literary world, a verdict which posterity has ratified, for it is universally recognised as the one authority upon the subject, created a big stir in the British official circles. He brought before the public gaze the secrets of British diplomacy towards

1. The songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern, 4 Vols., 1825.
2. These works appeared in 6 Vols. during the period 1829-33.
3. Alexander took up this assignment after retiring from the Bengal Army in 1861 as Major-General and held it upto 1885. He was created K.C.I.E. in 1887, and died in 1893.
4. Cunningham—A History of the Sikhs from the origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej, London, 1st Ed. 1849, 2nd Ed. 1853.
5. Cunningham; *op. cit.*

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the State of Lahore Darbar both before and during the first Anglo-Sikh War, with which, of course, he himself was intimately concerned. He had almost continuously lived amongst the Sikhs from 1838, when he was appointed Assistant to the Political Agent at Ludhiana down to 1846 when he left the Punjab to take up the exalted post of Political Agent at Bhopal.[6]

Cunningham seemed to have gained greater intimacy with the affairs of the Sikhs since 1844, when he was appointed Personal Assistant to Lt. Colonel Richmond, the Governer General's Agent on the North West Frontier and asked to draw reports regarding the political condition of the Punjab and regarding the relations of the British Indian Government with the Sikhs of Lahore and with the Protected States between the Sutlej and the Jumna. In order to make these reports more complete and authentic Cunningham made use of the public records within his reach. The fortunes of the Sikhs as a fascinating people had always interested Cunningham and as his political office gave him the means of accurately narrating their career he conceived the idea of writing this book.

He divided his proposed book in two volumes: first volume dealing with the career of the Sikhs from their origin to the close of the 19th Century and the second—their relations with the British Indian Government down to 1846.

While depending mainly on the public records for the second volume of his book, he drew largely from the contemporary sources like the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, the *Dabistan-i-Mazahab*, the *Khula-*

6. During this period of 8 years, he held various posts on the North-west Frontier, starting as Assistant to Colonel Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana. He was present at the interview which took place between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Lord Auckland in 1839. In 1840 he was in administrative charge of the district of Ludhiana, and in 1841 was in magisterial charge of Ferozepore district. He was present at the interviews between Lord Ellenborough and Dost Muhammad at Ludhiana, and again in 1842 at the interview between the Governor General and Sikh Chiefs. In 1843 he was in the civil charge of Ambala and was personal Assistant to Colonel Richmond, Political Agent on the N.W.F., when in 1844 he was asked to draw reports on the British-Sikh relations etc., and in 1845 he was employed in Bhawalpore State in the Punjab. He saw action in the First Sikh War in the battles of Badowal, Aliwal and Sobraon.

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sat-ul-Tawarikh, *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*, the *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, and the Sikh scriptures, for the first volume of his work, which ultimately appeared in one single volume.

It was, however, the second part of the book relating to the British relations with the Sikhs and particularly the portion bearing on the first Sikh War that proved the most controversial piece of historical writing in the annals of the British Indian history.

No sooner did the book, which was published in England, make its appearance, than his misfortunes descended on him. He wrote history in advance of his time and thereby invited the wrath of his employers, who stood condemned both for their conduct and policies towards the once formidable Sikh State which had fallen into weaker and incapable hands. The appointment of Major Broadfoot as the British Agent on the North West Frontier, and his subsequent conduct in pouncing upon one Sikh post after the other on the British side of the Sutlej, his programme of fortifications, the conduct, of Sir Charles Napier, the notorious conquerer of Sind on the Sind-Multan border and the approval of their actions by the Supreme Government, were all condemned by Cunningham who did not feel any hesitation to say that:

> ".... to a casual observer the aggression of the Sikh may appear as unaccountable as it was fatal. Yet further inquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations and that they cannot, therefore, be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and deprecated and which they knew could only tend to their own aggrendizement".[7]

And thus he defended the followers of Guru Govind for waging a war in self-defence, having singular faith in the maxim:

> "victory lies with those who strike first".

He challenged the deal with Raja Gulab Singh after the war had been won.[8] The character of the Governor General himself was put under shadow.

7. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, *op. cit.*, edited by H. L. O. Garrett, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 286-87.
8. Garrett, *op cit.*, pp. 317-320.

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But all this was something too strong for the light appetite of the Court of Directors to swallow and digest. They could, however, not with any justification do anything for the views he expressed in his book on the various events and conduct of certain officials and the interpretations that he deduced because they were too personal.

The fire of anger is always hot but that of vengeance is still hotter. The Court of Directors assuming complete ignorance of the whole thing, immediately wrote to the Governor General to call for the explanation of Captain Cunningham for making use of the public records without due authority and in the event of the Governor General's dissatisfaction with his explanation to remove him at once from his political employ as the Political Agent at Bhopal.[9]

It is undoubted that Captain Cunningham made use of the Public records and he himself made no secret of this fact for he referred to them in the footnotes to the text. But did he make an unauthorized use of them?

Cunningham was aware of the orders of the Government prohibiting an unauthorised use of unprinted documents and was impressed with the impropriety and indeed the dishonesty of quoting and referring to such papers without permission. Having, therefore completed the text of his work and added the footnotes to the first half or what was at that time intended to form the first volume of the History, and being desirous of publishing the book in England and not in India, he addressed the Court of Directors and solicited permission to print the book he had composed. He at the same time submitted the manuscript of the first portion and said that the concluding portions would shortly follow and like wise stated that his brother Peter Cunningham[10] who was residing in London, had been entrusted with the publication of the work after the sanction of the Court of Directors had been obtained to its publication.[11]

9. Secret Despatch from Court of Directors No. 1371 of 5th May, 1849.
10. Peter was the third brother of the family.
11. Secret Consultation, 29th September, 1849 No. 3.

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It is interesting to note that in the above application Captain Cunningham clearly stated that:

> "I should not perhaps have been disposed to undertake a work of this kind and I certainly could never have executed the concluding portions of it, had I not for some years held political office on the North West Frontier".[12]

He further observed that the History would be brought down to the termination of the campaign of 1845-46, and hoped:

> "It might not be thought necessary to supress or alter any passages for which altogether different opinions might be held about events so recent".[13]

and he believed that he had given to an authentic narrative a sober language such as became a truthful history. He concluded his application on a note of modesty:

> "My labour, I therefore, consider to be the property of the Government I serve, but now I address you on the hope that the Court of Directors may be pleased to sanction the regular publication of a History which their servant need not have written but has exerted himself to write".[14]

And in the Preface to the book which was submitted along with the above application it was made very plain that

> "the author was thus serving among the Sikh people for a period of eight years ..... and he had at the same time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs of the Frontier".[15]

While replying to the above application the Deputy Secretary to the Court of Directors, Mr. Dickinson stated that the publication of the History would rest with the author and that the

> "Court of Directors could not be parties to the work" and that
>
> "he would remain responsible for opinions and statements equally, as if he had not made the Court any reference on the subject."[16]

12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, edited by H. L. O. Garrett, 1918 *op. cit.*, pp. xxvi, xxvii.
16. Secret Consultation, 29th September, 1849 No. 4.

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Cunningham and his friends were very happy with this answer. They considered it to mean that the book was not to have any official character or to be looked upon as one, declaratory of the views of the Government about the Sikh affairs. It was on this account that the reference in the original Preface submitted with the application in question that

"the Court's sanction had been given to the work" was deleted. No objection was raised to the use made of the public records and as such it was naturally deemed that the Court allowed the author to make use of the documents in the composition of the History but on his own responsibility as to the truthfulness of his deductions and the propriety of his language. Cunningham was always willing to hold himself responsible for what he might aver and he was simply anxious to obtain the sanction of the Court of Directors to the use of the unpublished papers and of such unrecorded information as he had derived from his official position. And so ample was the sanction Dickinson's letter[17] held to convey that it was deemed wholly superflous to submit for the perusal of the Court the second portion of the History which reached England soon after the date of this reply to his application. Had the Court been unwilling to allow the discretionary use of the documents in narrating recent transactions, no reply would have been given about the publication of the book until the concluding chapters had been seen or that he would have been reminded of the orders in force against making use of the contents of the official papers.

But neither was the permission withheld nor was any reference made against the use of those papers at a stage when he could have been saved from the disgrace to which he was subjected by a public notification[18] removing him from his political employ; his explanation having been earlier found unsatisfactory by the Governor General for unauthorised use of official papers.[19] His services were placed at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief. He was

17. *Ibid.*

18. Notification No. 246, dated the 11th July, 1849. *Vide* Secret Consultation, 29th September, 1849, No. 8.

19. Minute of Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General. dated 4th July, 1849 *Vide* Secret Consultation, 29th September, 1849 No. 5.

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posted with a company of the Corps of Sappers although as an engineer officer, he was eligible for another and a higher kind of regimental duty viz.; in the Public Works Department.[20]

No! He had not made an unauthorised use of the public records, neither had he abused his position nor the confidence reposed in him as a trustworthy servant of the company. The reasons of his misfortunes were deeper; the polluted hearts of those whose policies and actions stood condemned before his genius and truthful judgment could not be disinfected. The events to which he referred had reached their logical conclusion and were fait accompli. He wrote with that confidence and freedom which he considered a soldier historian might do in relating things no longer in act and any opinions concerning which he could neither advance nor prejudice the public mind.[21]

There had been works before him published with applause and impunity by men whose knowledge of events was necessarily dependent on their position as servants of the state. There was the example of Mr. Prinsep's transactions in India, 1813-18.[22] In the preparation of this narrative, Mr. Prinsep made elaborate use of official documents. The favour and still more of the credit and authenticity with which the publication was viewed, were owing to the official situation he then filled. The only difference in the position of the two authors was that whereas Prinsep was harping on the tunes of his masters, Mr. Cunningham had the audacity of disagreeing with them on vital points.

His repeated requests to the Governor-General and pleadings did not prove of any avail to relieve him of the stigma which stuck to his name by the public disgrace.

> "He appeared before the public in a position painfully humiliating to one possessed of honourable feelings and belonging to an honourable service. People looked at him as one who for unworthy motives of gain or vanity deliberately committed a breach of implicit trust. His character both

20. Political Consultations, 6th September, 1850 No. 210-11.
21. Punjab had been annexed and there was no going back on this.
22. Prinsep, Henry, T., A Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions in British India 1813-1818, John Murray, London, 1820. Revised and enlarged edition, Kingsbury, Parbury. and Allan, London, 1825.

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> as a man of honour and as a faithful servant stood compromised with society and was so commented on by private friends and by public writers."[23]

'Calcutta Review' rebuked him for acting as the apologist of the Sikhs:

> "His heart seems to be with them. He is almost one of the Khalsa himself, almost a follower of Govind; almost the Granth his gospel. He sees things as they are seen at Lahore; not as they are seen on our side of Sutlej—or as they would be seen on a summit of infallibility, above the mists of all local influences."[24]

As a true and obedient servant but one accused of breach of implicit confidence and sensible of his altered position and fallen prospects, he neither murmured nor complained nor gave any vent to his feelings of vexation by attempting to interest the press in his favour. To the Chiefs and gentry to whom he was known and to the idly curious, to inquirers and to sympathisers, he insisted on his fault. Although entitled to his furlough and strongly urged to proceed to England, he remained in India not thinking it proper to question the Court's views or the Governor General's decision or to appear at home as one displeased or who deemed himself injured. On the contrary on receiving the orders to quit Bhopal and join the Sappers at Ludhiana, he immediately set out in complete disregard of doctors' advice who truly foresaw the effects a rainy-season march would have upon a constitution impaired by years of indoor labour and outdoor exposure.[25]

Though apparently active in his new duties even after all this, he could never recover from the disgraceful shock of public insult and was soon forced to retire to Simla for recouping the broken health; but the broken soul of the noble man could never recover. He died on the 28th February, 1851, before attaining his fortieth year.

23. Secret Consultation, 29th September, 1849 No. 12.
24. Vol. xi, pp. 523-58.
25. During his long Indian career of 20 years, Cunningham did not avail of any furlough excepting for one month while proceeding from Bhopal to Ludhiana, to represent his case personally to the Governor-General.

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New Aspect of Dhulev Plate of Maharaja Bhetti, Year 73

BY

Sri Roshanlal Samar, B.A.,LL.B.

Prof. V. V. Mirashi, edited a copper plate[1] dated year 73, at present in the possession of Śri Kalulal Ardavi, a Brahmaṇa of Dhulev (also called Rishabhadeva) about 40 miles south of Udaipur in Rajasthan. This plate was first noticed by Pt. G. H. Ojha in the Annual report of Rajputana Museum for the year 1932-33. About ten years back, I too happened to see the plate in original with Śri Kalulal. I read with great interest the article and the note by Dr. D. C. Sircar, and a further note[2] by the author. It is regretted that both the scholars have interpreted the plate wholly ignoring the History of Mewar,[3] wherein this plate was found and the places mentioned in the plate are also situated.

There is a great controversy about the era 73 of the plate. Pt. Ojha as suggested it to be Harsha era, while Prof. Mirashi has disproved it and asserts that it is a Bhattika era. Dr. Sircar still suggests it to be Harsha era. I totally disagree with these scholars. To quote Prof. Mirashi himself that an era spreads with the extension of political power, but we have no literary, epigraphic or other evidence indicating that Bhātti, or Bhāttika, the founder of former Jaisalmer State to whom this era[4] owes its origin, ever had suzerainity or political influence for beyond the desert of Thār, over the distant region of southern Aravalli Hills, which had been under the sway of Guhilotas of Medpat or Mewar. The two inscriptions of Jaisalmer clearly mention Bhattika era along with Vikram era, while in our plate

1. *E.I.* Vol. XXX, Pt. I. Jan. 1953.
2. *E.I.* Vol. XXX, Pt. I, Oct. 1953.
3. Rājputānā Kā Itihās by G. H. Ojha Veer Vinod by Kavirājā Shyamaldān; Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.
4. Palaeography of India by G. H. Ojha, p. 178.

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Bhattika era is not at all mentioned. Prof. Mirashi's suggestion that eras in other inscriptions of Rajputana, i.e. inscription of Kot, former Bharatpur State (year 48), the Tasai, former Alwar State inscription (year 182) and the Udaipur Museum inscription (year 207) might also be Bhattika eras, is also without foundation. These inscriptions too do not mention Bhattika era like Jaisalmer inscriptions. While writing this article I examined the original inscription (Udaipur Museum inscription) of Dhod in the Udaipur Museum. The date portion is little blurred. Dr. Bhandarkar once read the year, as 807 of Vikrama era and on another occasion read 407 of Gupta era[5] while Pt. Ojha regards it as 207 of Harsha era, but in no case Bhattika era is specifically mentioned here.

Pt. Ojha referred the era 73 of the plate to the Harsha era and took it equivalent to 679 A.D. This year 73 is also Āśvayuja Samvatsar as the plate mentions. But according to Prof. Mirashi's calculations the year 679=80 A.D. is Jyēshṭha, and not Āśvayuja Saṁvatsara as required, so the year 73 cannot be Harsha era. It is needless to discuss at length whether Harsha ever conquered or had influence over southern Rajputana. In my opinion it is a local era. To discover this era we have first to determine from the local history, who are these Mahārāja Bappa, and Mahārāja Bhetti of the plate and also to ascertain who were the Kings of this southern Aravalli hilly region, wherein this plate was found and the places mentioned in the plate are also situated, in the 7th, 8th or the 9th centuary A.D.

Mewar history tells as that Guhadatta the progenitor of Guhil Vaṁsha of Medpat or Mewar founded a Kingdom or small principality in the southern Aravalli hills where numerous stone inscriptions of his successors are also found. Tod[6] after narrating the birth of Goha (cave born) in the forests after the death of his father writes the legend of Goha in the following words: At this period Idar was governed by a chief of the savage race of Bhils, his name Mandalika. The young Goha frequented the forests in company with Bhils whose habits better assimilated with

5. Rājpūtānā Kā Itihās, p. 421 f.n.
6. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, p. 258 (Crooke's Edition).

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his daring nature than those of Brahmaṇas. He became a favourite with the Vanaputras, or Children of the forest, who resigned to him Idar with its woods and mountains. The fact is mentioned by Abul Fazal and is still repeated by the bards, with a characteristic version of the incident of which doubtless there were many.....

The above legend may not be true in every detail, but it is quite evident from it that Goha, or Guhadatta, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century of the Christian era founded a kingdom in the southern Aravalli hilly region and his successors too held this region is borne out by their stone inscriptions.

The earliest stone inscription[7] dated V. S. 703=646 A.D. of the reign of Śila or Śiladitya was found at Sāmoli village in Bhomat district of the old Mewar State and which lies at a distance of about 40 miles from Udaipur in due west. The ruins of Kishkindhā of the plate near Kalyanpur are at a distance of about 56 miles from Sāmoli in the south-east, at the border of the same Bhomat District adjoining Idar hills, and lie 48 miles from Udaipur in the South.

Another stone inscription[8] dated V. S. 718=661 A.D. of the reign of Aparājit was found in the Kundeswar temple near about Nāgdraha (Nāgda) a place about 15 miles from Udaipur City in the north. .This King Aparājit is the successor of Śiladitya of Śamoli inscription. The third inscription[9] dated V.S. 999=942 A.D. of the reign of Bhartri Patta II was found in the old Pratapgarh State at a distance of about hundred miles in the south-east of Udaipur city while another inscription[10] dated V.S. 1000=943 A.D. of the same king was found at Āhād or old Āghātpur, a place about 2 miles from Udaipur city in the east, near the Udaipur Railway Station. The inscription[11] dated V.S. 1010=953 A.D. of the reign of Allata, the successor of Bhartri patta II, and another inscription[12] dated V.S. 1028=971 A.D. of

7. Nāgri Prachārini Patrikā. Vol. I, p. 311-24
8. Rājputānā Kā Itihās, p. 404; *E.I.* Vol. IV, p. 31-32.
9. *E.I.* Vol. IV, p. 187.
10. Rājputānā Museum Report 193-14, p. 2.
11. Rājputānā Kā Itihās, p. 426.
12. Nāgri Prachārini Patrikā, Vol. I, p. 256-59.

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the reign of Narvāhan and an inscription[13] dated V. S. 1034=977 A.D. of the reign of Sakti Kumār are found at Āhād or Āghāṭpur. All the places of the above mentioned inscriptions lie in the south-west Aravalli hill region. So it is conclusively proved that this Southern Aravalli hill region was held in sway by the Guhilota Kings from the second-half of the sixth century, to the tenth century, nay it was still held by their descendants till the formation of United State of Rajasthan in 1948 A.D. after Independence of India. When it is certain that while Guhilota Kings were ruling over this region, the issuer of this copper plate Mahārāja Bhetti, can not be an independent king but only a feudatory chief or a kinsman of Guhalota kings. This fact is confirmed by their humble title of Mahārāja. From Aparājit inscription[14] of V.S. 718=661 A.D. we learn that the title 'Rājā' is used for Aparājit of Guhil-Vaṁsha, while for Varāh Siṁha, (son of Śiva), who was appointed senāpati (commander) by Aparājit, the humble title of Mahārāja is used. A small undated stone inscription[15] from Kalyānpur also mentions Mahārāja Padra. The script of this inscription also closely resemble that of our plate. In all probability this Mahārāja Padra, also belongs to the family of Mahārāja Bhetti, may be ancestor or a descendant of Bhetti of Kishkindhā, and the ruins near about Kalyānpur have been rightly identified to be of Kishkindhā. It seems that this Mahārāja family of Kishkindhā is the Kinsman of Guhils kings of Medpāt. The appointment of Mahārāja Varāsiṁha as a senāpati by Aparājit clearly shows that he was a man of King's confidence, without which a man could not be appointed to such a key post of supreme military power, and in all probability such position could not be enjoyed except by a Kinsman or a near blood relation. So we can conclude that this Mahārāja family of Kishkindhā also belonged to Guhil Vaṁsha. Even today the nearest Kinsman of the Udaipur Maharana's family only bear the title of Mahārāja even though they might hold a small Jagir. So Mahārāja Bhappa of our plate belonged to Guhil Vaṁsha, and this fact is confirmed by the inscription dated V.S. 1028=971 A.D. of the reign of Narvāhan, in which Bappa is said to belong to Guhil Gotra.

13. *E.I.* Vol. 39. p. 191.
14. *E.I.* Vol. IV, p. 31-32.
15. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXV, Pt. I, April 1957.

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Now while interpreting the date portion of the plate, we should not lose sight of the name of Mahārāja Bappa whose grant of endowed village Ubbaraka was confirmed by Mahārāja Bhetti, and the legends of Bāppā or Bāppā-Rāwal of Mewar who is the same person as Bappa of the plate. Tod and Ojha have narrated the various legends about Bāppā with some variations. Ojah after narrating some legends summarises them as "the theme of all those legends is, that Bappa had no Kingdom. He used to tend the cows of his Guru Hārit Rishi. Through the benediction of his Guru he acquired kingdom and he became the first king in Guhil Vaṁsha.[16] This is why he is called *Ādya* i.e., (first). Hence a doubt has sometimes been raised that when ancestors of Bāpā were already ruling over Medpāt or Mewar how Bāpā was tending cows of Hārit Rishi, and acquired kingdom afresh. The answer is deduced from this plate, that he did not belong to the main line of Guhil princes, as founded or started by Guhadatta, but he was one of the Kinsman of royal house and no wonder that he was tending cows of his Guru Hārit Rishi. A legend is narrated by Tod, which is based on bardic chronicles that the Bhils of Idar being tired of foreign[16a] rule killed (the eighth prince) Nāgāditya.[17] The event seems to be true. At the same time we are told that the Arabs overran this country, i.e. country round about Chitor and carried their arms against Chitor and Mewār between 725 A.D. to 738 A.D.=V.S. 782 and 795 respectively. This fact is confirmed by a find of Arab Coins numbering 125 in a small earthen pot while constructing road at Karera (Bhupal Sagar) a Railway Station on Udaipur Chitor branch line not far from Chitor. These coins with earthen pot and the official report of the local officer were sent to me by the then acting Prime Minister Śri Rao Manohar Singh for my perusal some fifteen years back and another find of Arab coins numbering 368 with silver Gadhiya coins and Ādi Varāha coins numbering 87 in a copper pot in the fields near old Āghātpur or Āhād while constructing a road in new Aśoka Nagar

16. Nāgri Prachārini Patrikā, Vol. I, pp. 256-59

16a. Early Guhila Coins in Indo-Sassanian type go to support the theory of Huṅ origin of Guhilots, *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XX, Part I, (1958).

17. According to Ātpur inscription of V.S. 1034-987 A.D. the eighth prince is Kālbhoj.

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Scheme near Udaipur Railway Station. I have seen this find of coins in the Udaipur Collector's office only recently. A large number of Arab Coins were found in Mārwār (former Jodhpur State) and it seems that Arabs carried their arms to Chitor from Sindh after crossing Aravalli Hills through Desuri pass. Thus the kingdoms of Mewar and Chitor being shattered by Arab assaults or old line of kings being uprooted by Bhils, after an uninterrupted rule for eight generations as narrated by Tod, Bāppā took advantage of the chaos and confusion that followed and usurped the old state of Medpāt brushing aside the main line of Guhil Vaṁsha and acquired kingdom in V.S. 810 which I discuss below.

It is pertinent to note in this connection that a stone inscription[18] dated V.S. 811 was found by Col. Tod at Chitor fort which records the erection of Kukkuteśwara (Śiva) temple and excavation of Kukadeśvara reservoir. So the conquest of Chitor by Bāppā, if true, cannot be earlier than V.S. 811 when the fort of Chitor appears to be in the possession of Rājā Kukkuteśhwar which is evident from the above inscription. As to the identity of Rājā Kukkuteśhwara we are still in the dark. Probably he might be of the same family whose inscription of V.S. 770 was found at Manasarovar lake near Chitor fort. In view of the above observations, Pt. Ojha's view that Bappa retired and took to ascetic life in V.S. 810 seems to be quite improbable. Bappa himself belonged to Guhil Vaṁsha, in the feudatory line of Mahārāja of Kishkindhā who thus supplanted the main line of Guhil Vaṁsha. This is why he is called *Ādya*, first king and some times in the absence of the correct knowledge of genealogy of Guhil rulers he has been shown as the father of Guhadatta, actual progenitor of Guhil Vaṁsha.[19]

Now let us turn to the date of the plate. The words in the original are: '*Rājya Pratimattā Vashaih tri Saptatibhiha* which is evidently a mistake for "*Rājya Pratipatti-varśe trisaptatitamē*". It seems that person who incised the plate

18. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. III (Crooke's Edition) p. 1823.

19. Chitor inscription V.S. 1331 Bhavnagar inscriptions. p. 74-77 Abu inscription V.S. 1342, *I.A.* Vol. 16, p. 347-51; Raṅpur inscription V.S. 1496 Bhavnagar inscriptions, p. 114-15.

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was not a learned man himself and wrongly incised 'ma' for 'pa' and 'tibhiha' for 'titamé' Prof. Mirashi's interpretation seems to be correct that the 73rd year when grant was made is said to have been reckoned from the acquisition of kingdom (rajya pratipatti). The date is evidently of some era which marked the foundation of Kingdom by ancestor of Bhetti. His descendants seems to have continued the reckoning started by him and dated the record according to it. Though the name of the ancestor who acquired the kingdom has not been specifically mentioned but there is a clear hint in the plate. The old grant of village Ubbaraka by Mahārāja Bappa was confirmed by Mahārāja Bhetti to increase the religious merit of Mahārāja Bappa, who acquired kingdom and rose to great height from humble position as I have described above, though certainly through his chivalry. If we are able to ascertain the date of acquisition of Kingdom by Bappa, then the year 73rd, of the plate can be easily ascertained. The 73rd year is also Āśvayaja samvatsar which is evidently a twelve year cycle of Jupitor. Various dates have been suggested when Bappa acquired kingdom. The earliest stone inscription which records the name of Bappa is of the year V.S. 1028=971 A.D. of the time of Naravāhan. It mentions: the name of Vappaka (Bappaka=Bāpā) as the King of Nagdrahā, who is like a moon amongst Guhil Kings, and a jewel on Earth.

This shows that before Narvāhan, Bāppā, or (Vappa) was a king in Guhil Vaṁsha. But another inscription of V.S. 1034—977 A.D. does not mention the name of Bāppā, though it gives the list of kings from Guhadatta to Śakti Kumar A.D. 562 to 977 A.D. It so appears that as time rolled on people lost memory of the chronology of old kings. Serious attempt was made in this direction by Mahārānā Kumbha (A.D. 1433-69 A.D.) to correct the old chronology of kings, who was not only a warrior but a great scholar. He composed Ekling Mahātmaya[20] with the help of Kāṅha Vyās. In this book he mentions the date of Bappa,—"as the old poets have said that in Samvat 810 Bāppā having attained boon from Śrī Ekling Shankar became the first (famous king)" though it plainly does not mention that in Samvat 810 Bappa acquired Kingdom. But in any opinion it refers to the date when

20. Rajputānā Kā Itihās, p. 410.

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Bappa acquired kingdom, and our plate is dated year 73, since the acquisition of kingdom. The first year of this 73rd year is Samvat 810 (of course Vikram). So the year of our plate comes to (810+72)=V.S. 882, which is Āśvayuja Samvatsar, which has been confirmed by a renowned local astrologer. On palaeographic grounds too we may assert that the plate was incised in the ninth century A.D. In my view this date of accession to throne or acquisition of kingdom by Bāppā seems to be quite correct and is corroborated from other evidence which we discuss below:

There is a tradition in Mewar that Bappa acquired Kingdom in Samvat 191, Rajprashashti Mahākāvya and the bardic chronicles[21] too record the same date. Pt. G. H. Ojha writes that he had an old copy of Ekling Mahātmya[22] which was written during the reign of Mahārāna Kumbhā (1433 A.D.—1469 A.D.) wherein, where Bappa's Samvat 810 is written, some one has marked it by asterisk and on the margin he has written—*Tatah Shashinanda Chandra Samvat 191 Varshé.* This is exactly according to age long tradition in Mewar. Pt. Ojha and Kavirāja Shyamaldān do believe that this date is not without foundation but fail to find out the correct interpretation of this date. They assert that if the tradition is based on any genuine year, the only conjecture would be that the figure seven in the old script is much similar to figure 'one' of our time, and any one having no knowledge of old script might have read it as Samvat 191 for Samvat 791 in any old book.[23] Col. Tod's conjecture was that Vallabhipura being destroyed in V.S. 580=523 A.D. its ruling family took refuge here and the year 191 was recorded from that date till Bāppā was born.[24] But this conjecture too is incorrect as Vallabhipur was not destroyed in Samvat 580=523 A.D. but in the year V.S. 826=769 A.D. while Śrī C. V. Vaidya has made another conjecture. In his opinion Vallabhipur was founded in the year V.S. 509 A.D. the year 191 should be reckoned from that year.[25] But the theory of Vallabhipur origin of Guhilot family has been firmly exploded

21. Rajputānā Kā Itihās, p. 413.
22. *Ibid*, p. 413.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
24. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Crooke's Edition) 1920, Vol. I, page 269.
25. History of Mediaeval India by C. V. Vaidya, p. 7!

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by Pt. Ojha[26] and at the same time we know that Droṇasinha's land grant of 502 A.D. has also come to light, while his elder brother Dharasena, and his father Bhattāraka preceded him. Thus Bhattaraka's time has been fixed between A.D. 465 and 475 A.D.[27] So Śrī Vaidya's connecture is also without foundation. Hence all these interpretations of the year 191 are not correct. It is not Vikram era. As the date of this plate is reckoned from the acquisition of kingdom by Bāppā, so the acquisition of kingdom by Bāppā was reckoned from the regnal year of Guhadatta, when he first acquired kingdom. If this view is correct then the date of Guhadatta would be V.S. 810 minus 191=V.S. 619=562 A.D. This date is nearly confirmed by Pt. Ojha. According to Pt. Ojha Guhadatta's time is near about V.S. 623=566[28] A.D., calculated on the basis of stone inscriptions, assigning 20 years to each king.

As for the grant, certainly this is not a original grant of the endowed (agrahārā) village Ubbaraka to Brāhmana Bhattināga. It simply records the confirmation of or consent to the old grant of Mahārāja Bāppā by Mahārāja Bhetti. This sense is fully explicit from the words—*Ubbaraka Gramagrahāre anumattiha datta*. It so appears that a dispute having arisen about the validity of the old grant or the old grant being lost, the Guhil Prince, son or grandson of Bappa might have given the fresh grant to Brahmana Bhattināga in lieu of old grant to his father or grand father. The Kinsman of the royal house like Mahārāja Bhetti and the important or influential sāmantas too were required to confirm or give consent to grant according to the usage or the laws of the land where the king had no absolute power to make grant of villages without the concurrence of kinsman or sāmantas. History records such usage[29] in mediaeval age too that any grant by the Mahārānas, since Mahārāna Mokul's time (A.D. 1419-1433 A.D.) required a sign of lance on Pattas or land-grants by Chunda, who abdicated the gaddi of Mewar in favour of his younger brother Mokul by step mother. Chunda's

26. Rajputānā Kā Itihās, Vol. I, pp. 385-389.
27. The History and Culture of the Indian People—Classical Age, Vol. III, p. 61.
28. Rajputānā Kā Itihās, p. 402.
29. Veer Vinod by Kaviraja Shyamaldan, p. 310.

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descendants used to put this sign of lance on Pattas or copper plate grants as a token of consent to the grants without which it was not considered to be valid one. Though in course of time this practice remained in name only and a state official used to put mark of lance instead of Chunda's descendants. Dr. Sircar's interpretation that Mahārāja Bāppā is not a proper name but 'Bāppā' stands for 'father' and 'datti' for 'a gift' and further he writes that the village in question was apparently granted by Mahārāja Bhetti's father who was also a Mahārāja, although his personal name is not mentioned in the record. Bhetti had to ratify the grant made by his father for the religious merit of the latter obviously because the original donor had died before the execution of the deed. As I have discussed above that this plate is not a grant at all. In Mewar grant are called Pattās (Title-deeds) and as such they are addressed to the donees only and not to the officers, etc., of the village concerned as in this plate. Such documents, as are addressed to officers or inhabitants of villages like patels (Drańgikas) are called Parwānā Uthantri (orders to transfer possession). Had the words Bappadatti intended to mean 'father's gift' the word 'Bappadatti' would not have been preceded by the title of 'Mahārāja'.

As regards dutaks, the dutak is always a person through them royal orders are conveyed. They are not to execute the grant as surmised by Professor Mirashi. The order of Mahārāja Bhetti to his officers, etc. was to be conveyed through dutaka Yajñadēva. Bhaṭṭivaḍḍa seems to be some official of Mahārāja Bhetti like chief Secretary of today who has counter signed the document. The Sāmant Bhartṛipadra seems to be a Sāmant of higher order who has also consented to the grant and his consent is to be conveyed through another sāmant Bhavvihitta. The position of sāmant Bhartrivaḍḍa is not clear. He too has appointed a dutaka Karkbhatta. It is not clear what he has to convey through Karkabhatta, may be a consent. All these three names are distinctly different and do not seem to be identical.

Lastly I may add that Dr. Sircar in a note on page 7 suggested that Śiladitya of the Sāmoli (old Udaipur State Rajasthan) inscription (Bhandarkar's List No. 12) may actually be Harshvardhan, is not correct. The inscription clearly mentions the year 703 which can not be Harsh era, and an inscription of Harsha's regime must mention Harsha samvat at least during his life time.

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Original text published in *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, Pt. I, January 1953.
Translation of the Dhuleva Copper Plate.

Obeisance to Almighty. The auspicious Kishkindhā Mahārāja Bhētti, Kushli. Be it known to all Swanāyuktakas (Commissioners) Viniyuktakas (agents appointed by them) Chaṭas, Bhatas, Kuṭumbins (members of family) Mahattaras (village clerks like modern Mehta or Punch) Drangikas (modern Dangi agricultural class i.e. Patels) for their information that we have confirmed the grant of Mahārāja Bāppā of endowed village Ūbbaraka for his religious benefit to Brāhmin Bhattināga of Chandrātrēya Gōtra and Vajasanēya (Śhākha). He may cultivate himself or through others, no one is to interfere in it. The inhabitants of village should pay share (of crops), taxes (in cash) regularly. Here is a verse. The giver of land resides in Heaven for sixty thousand years, and whoever upsets it or encourages it lives in Hell for the same period. In the 73rd year of the acquisition of Kingdom, the Āśvayuja saṁvatsara. Dūtaka (conveyor of royal message) Yajnādēva. Scribe Sāmba-bhaṭa (Signed by) Mahārāja Bētti in his own hand. (Signed by) Bhaṭṭivaḍa in his own hand. At the camp of Tumbatālī Sāmanta Bhartri Vaḍḍa appointed Karkabhata as Dutak, i.e., conveyor of this Royal message of confirmation. Confirmed or consented to by Sāmanta Bhartripadra. Here Dutak Sāmanta Bhavvihita.

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Background to the Appointment of Sir John Strachey as Finance Member in 1876

BY

Dr. Lalit Gujral, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

Early in 1874, a mandate came from England that the 5 and 3½ per cent import duties on cotton piece-goods and yarns, being protective, should be abolished whenever the state of Indian finances allowed. Lord Salisbury recommended this sacrifice of revenue in order to meet the wishes of the manufacturers of Lancashire. But Lord Northbrook's government held that this duty was not protective to Indian manufacture, in its actual operation and, therefore, decided to retain it. Instead, in the new Tariff Act passed in 1875, the Government of India imposed a 5 per cent duty on the import of long-staple cotton to prevent Indian mills competing at an advantage in the production of finer cloth. As this went against the wishes of the Secretary of State, he disallowed the latter provision of the Act. Much unpleasant and acrimonious correspondence ensued, in the course of which Northbrook resigned the Viceroyalty of India due to personal and private reasons.[1]

The appointment of Lord Lytton to succeed Northbrook as the Governor-General of India, was announced on January 4, 1876. Early in February 1876, Lytton received a letter from the Secretary of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, who asked "the favour of an interview", with him "to lay before you the views of this Chamber in connection with our mercantile and commercial relations with British India."[2] Lytton granted their request and Colonel Owen Burne—his private secretary—informed the Chamber that February 26 was the date fixed for the meeting. In a letter to Burne the Secretary explained that the leading question to be raised at the meeting would be the import duties on cotton

1. For details, see my article "Sir Louis Mallet's Mission to Lord Northbrook on the Question of the Cotton Duties", published in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXIX, Part III, Dec. 1961, pp. 473-87.
2. Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Lytton, Feb. 10, 1876. Letters from England, Vol. I. Letter No. 150. Lytton Papers.

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goods. The effect of these duties was distinctively protective and, therefore, they could not be upheld. "But notwithstanding the policy of the Secretary of State, recent policy pursued in India points in the direction of their permanent maintenance."[3]

The Manchester deputation[4] had their interview with Lytton on February 26, 1876. Lytton told them that on the question of the cotton duties the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been "most distinctly, repeatedly, emphatically and honestly"[5] declared by Salisbury. The Secretary of State had declared publicly that the cotton duties could not be upheld, for though levied ostensibly for revenue purposes their effect was protective. Lytton assured the deputation that he frankly accepted Salisbury's view, and agreed with him that the final word on the duties was that they were condemned. At the same time, he wanted the deputation to understand the difficulties which he anticipated in carrying out this principle. He said, "The proverb reminds us that 'Don Fernando cannot do more than a man can do', and that 'a cat has only got its skin'. I am afraid that at present the Indian revenue is a very lean cat, and a very shy cat, and a cat whose skin won't bear much stretching."[6]

Lytton left England on March 1, 1876, to assume the Governor-Generalship in India.[7] He halted for a day at Bologna on March 9,

3. Manchester Chamber of Commerce to Burne, Feb. 17, 1876. *Ibid* Letter No. 152. L.P.

4. The deputation was composed of:—
Ashworth—President of the Chamber.
Cheetham—Vice-President of the Chamber.
Browning—Secretary of the Chamber.
Sir T. Bazley, M.P.
Birley, M.P.
Jacob Bright, M.P. and;
J. K. Cross, M.P.

5. *The Times*, Feb. 28, 1876.

6. *Ibid.* The report of Lytton's declaration on the cotton duties was published by some of the other English newspapers as well. For example, *The Evening Echo*, Feb. 28, 1876; *The Globe*, Feb. 28. 1876; *The Examiner*, Mar. 4, 1876; and *The Economist*, Mar. 4, 1876. *Manuscript European*, E. 218.520/5 L.P.

7. Balfour, Lady Betty—*The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* (London, 1899), p. 40.

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and there met Sir Louis Mallet[8]—the permanent under-Secretary of State for India—who was on his way back from Calcutta, where he had gone on a special mission to discuss with Northbrook and his Government the question of the cotton duties levied on English cotton manufactures. Mallet gave him a full account[9] of his mission at Calcutta. Northbrook had the unanimous support of his Executive Council in the stand he had taken on the question of the cotton duties. Lytton now gathered from Mallet's description of the situation at Calcutta that the Indian Council considered itself, and the Governor-General, "aggrieved," and that it was in a very "hostile and refractory state of mind at the present moment."[10] He suspected that the Council had been induced to regard itself "of late as the faithful bodyguard of an aggrieved Caesar."[11]

Thus the position, in a nutshell, was that Lytton had publicly committed himself to a complete abolition of the cotton duties but all the members of the Governor-General's Council were opposed to this policy. Therefore, if Lytton were to initiate a new policy with regard to the customs tariff, a Finance Member, who held the same views on the question as he, was indispensable. In their meeting at Bologna, Mallet suggested to Lytton that if Sir William Muir could be got rid of, he would strongly recommend Sir John Strachey, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, as Finance Member. Lytton agreed with Mallet that that would be the best arrangement and he preferred it to sending out an able and experienced financier from England.[12]

Salisbury also had no doubt that there was a considerable amount of discontent in the minds of some members of the Council. He learnt from Northbrook on March 13, 1876, that there was at that time an expected vacancy in the Council. Sir Richard Temple was retiring from the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and Northbrook suggested the name of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, then a member of his Council, for the vacancy. Northbrook fur-

8. Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 9, 1876. Letters Despatched, Vol. I. L.P.
9. For details refer to my article *op. cit.*
10. Enclosure to the letter, Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 12, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
11. Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 12, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
12. Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 12, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.

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ther suggested the appointment of Ashley Eden[13] as a substitute on the Council for Arbuthnot. Salisbury commented, "But as Eden took a hostile line on the tariff,[14] I had rather hear your wishes before doing anything."[15] He was anxious that in the then state of things, it was "of the first importance" that Lytton should have a Council which would support him not only as to import duties but also as to "far graver matters",[16]—he meant the Afghan policy. "How I wish" if Muir would also resign, for then Lytton would have, with Sir Frederick Haines's[17] help, a majority which "will leave you free to do as you like."[18]

Lytton replied that if Salisbury had no special reason for acting at once on Northbrook's recommendation of Eden, he would then recommend Strachey as successor to Arbuthnot. He expected that Strachey's presence in the Council would strengthen his hands. Although it was more especially as Finance Member of Council that Lytton desired Strachey's assistance, yet he thought that Strachey's appointment as Member of his Council in any capacity would be generally advantageous to him. Besides, if Strachey entered the Council with an understanding that he was to have the financial portfolio whenever it becomes vacant, this arrangement might, Lytton hoped, "possibly expedite indirectly the departure of Sir W. Muir."[19]

Meanwhile Salisbury received a detailed account from Mallet of his mission to Northbrook. Thereupon, he informed Lytton that reports about Muir increased in substance and it was very likely that Muir would have to be replaced. Regarding the hostility of the other members of the Council, he felt that it would vanish as soon as Lytton shipped the "aggrieved Caesar home".[20] Lytton shared his anticipation as to the behaviour of the "Praetorians after a change of Caesars, notwithstanding their present

13. Chief Commissioner of British Burma.
14. For details see Abstract of the Proceedings of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, for 1875. Vol. XIV. Eden's speech, pp. 196-200.
15. Salisbury to Lytton, Mar. 13, 1876. Letters from the Secretary of State. Vol. I. Letter No. 9. L.P.
16. *Ibid.*
17. The Commander-in-Chief in India.
18. Salisbury to Lytton, Mar. 13, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
19. Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 17, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
20. Salisbury to Lytton, Mar. 17. 1876. Letters from S.S. Vol. I. Letter No. 10. L.P.

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cry *'la viella garde meurt mais ne se reud pas'*," yet he recommended, "if we can weed out the mutinous members of the old guard, so much the better."[21]

On reaching Bombay, Lytton took the train for Calcutta. On his way to the capital, he met Strachey at Allahabad and had discussions with him. Lytton was favourably impressed by him. They held the same views on the question of the cotton tariff. Lytton was able to prevail upon Strachey to accept the Finance Membership of his Council, although Strachey at first declined the offer on the ground that he could not afford the pecuniary loss, which he estimated at £ 1,500 per annum.[22] On the same day, Lytton sent a telegram to Salisbury from Allahabad suggesting that Muir be offered a seat at the India Council and further impressing upon him the urgency of immediately replacing Muir by Strachey. For, Muir was not only committed against touching the cotton duties but also "saturated with Lord Northbrook's policy of financial *laissez faire*."[23] He further told Salisbury that if he were himself strong in finance, or possessed of, by previous reputation, any authority in financial questions, he would not have cared so much about getting rid of Muir on the earliest possible occasion. But the longer questions like the cotton duties were postponed the more difficult it would be to touch them. And it was too serious to be left wholly dependent on an inefficient Finance Member, in antagonism to a Viceroy whose knowledge of finance was insufficient to correct his inadequacies or command his obedience. He hoped that Salisbury would appreciate the difference, "it would make to me to have a Finance Minister just now who shares our views and would cordially and ably assist me in carrying them out, instead of one who is pledged to oppose them."[24] He, therefore, requested Salisbury to arrange that Strachey should not suffer any financial loss.[25]

As soon as Salisbury received the telegram, he agreed to Lytton's proposal. He thought that Strachey's financial difficulty could perhaps be tackled, for he had already consulted Sir Edmund Drummond, the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the India

21. Lytton to Salisbury, Mar. 25, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
22. Lytton to Salisbury, Apr. 11, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*

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Council. Drummond, in addition, expressed "much satisfaction" at the idea of Strachey succeeding Muir as Finance Member, and Salisbury also had "heard the opinion more than once expressed here,"[26] that Muir was not competent for that post. He informed Lytton that Northbrook had practically managed "the finance himself", but this was "a diversion of the Governor-General from more important matters", which Salisbury held to be "most undesirable."[27] Regarding Muir, he could either be put in the India Council or offered the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. Salisbury himself would prefer Temple to Muir at the India Council, "because he agrees with me more."[28] But he left the question to Lytton to decide as his own interest in the matter was "ephemeral, and ought not to stand for a moment against what you think to be desirable."[29]

Meanwhile, Lytton took charge from Northbrook on April 12, 1876. The latter asked him to forward to the Secretary of State a Memorandum respecting Muir.[30] Muir wanted to leave India in the autumn of 1877. Since Salisbury had offered him a seat at the India Council a few years ago, he would now accept the offer if a vacancy occurred in the next autumn.[31] Lytton commented, "It is obvious to me that the reason why Sir William makes it a point of personal honour, as he says, to pass the next budget is that it is with him a point of *amour propre* to oppose and obstruct, and if possible, prevent any remission of the cotton duties, or any reversal of the Northbrook policy, in matters on which as Finance Member of Council, he has a claim to be heard."[32] But Lytton wanted Strachey to assume office much earlier than the autumn of 1877. He had already talked over with Strachey the possible outlines of the next budget, and the latter was, in Lytton's opinion, "thoroughly sound"[33] on the tariff question.

26. Salisbury to Lytton, Mar. 17, 1876. Letters from S.S. Vol. I. Letter No. 15. L.P.
27. Salisbury to Lytton, May 26, 1876. *Ibid.* Letter No. 23. L.P.
28. Salisbury to Lytton, Apr. 21, 1876. *Ibid.* Letter No. 15. L.P.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Lytton to Salisbury, Apr. 14, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
31. Memorandum by Northbrook, Apr. 13, 1876. Enclosure to the above. *Ibid.* L.P.
32. Lytton to Salisbury, Apr. 18, 1876. *Ibid.* L.P.
33. *Ibid.*

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Salisbury agreed with Lytton, for he believed that financial policy was so important "a portion of Government"[34] that it was not convenient that a Viceroy should have to change Finance Members in the course of his term of office. He held that "they ought to begin and end together."[35] As there was no chance of Muir's remaining in India till the close of Lytton's Viceroyalty "or indeed to any period at all approaching to that",[36] Salisbury thought that it would be better for Lytton to commence his financial career with the assistance of a Finance Member who was likely to be at his Council available to the end. Therefore, as he gathered from Northbrook's memorandum that Muir had made up his mind to return to England in the autumn of 1877, the time was peculiarly unfavourable in the interest of the public service for him to select for doing so. In view of this, Salisbury telegraphed to Lytton to inform Muir that it was quite impossible for him to keep the vacancy open till March 1877. If, however, he could let it be known, before the Indian budget came on to be discussed in the British Parliament, that the vacancy had been filled and that the new Councillor was only waiting for the hot weather to be over in the Red Sea, he anticipated that he would have no reason to fear. But if Muir was unable to join in England by November 1876, he could not keep the vacancy open.[37]

Lytton eventually succeeded in settling the whole matter amicably when he persuaded Muir to resign in November and reach England by December 1876.[38] Salisbury also wrote to Muir, urging him to be in England not later than the beginning of December 1876, as they were "rather weak-handed in the office."[39] Finally, Muir took his seat at the India Council on December 5, 1876.[40]

34. Salisbury to Lytton, May 19, 1876. Letters from S.S. Vol. I. Letter No. 19. L.P.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Lytton to Lord George Hamilton, June 3, 1876. Letters Desp. Vol. I. L.P.
39. Salisbury to Lytton. May 26, 1876. Letters from S.S. Vol. I. Letfer No. 23. L.P.
40. Minutes of the Council of India, Dec. 5, 1876, Vol. 37, p. 450.

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Early History of Mithila

BY

Shri V. Mishra, M.A.

Pre-historic Mithila. Geology looks farther than History, but unfortunately the scholars who have engaged themselves in the study of Ancient India have completely ignored Pre-historic Mithila so far. Of course, the depradations caused by the watery nature of its land and by the frequent changes in the courses of its numerous rivers and rivulets have made it difficult to collect materials in the field of pre-historic antiquities.

In the early stages of the geographical formation of the Indian sub-continent there was only a continuous rock back-bone of India covered by a sea from out of which the Peninsula Himalaya stretch of land arose. We have ample evidence to prove that Mithila was merged in water till quite late. There are constant references to the marshy character of the land: The earliest reference to the land is in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* where we are told that "No Brāhmaṇas went across the stream (the Sadānīra) in former times, thinking 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara'." At that time the land to the eastward was very uncultivated and marshy,[1] but after king Maṭhava's arrivals many Brahmaṇas went there, and it was cultivated, for the Brahmanas had caused Agni, the fire god to taste it through sacrifices. To this day the picture of Mithila is very much reminiscent of this. Compare the following words:

> 'Mithila is mainly a vast chain of temporary lakes, joined together by the numerous beds of hill-streams which pass . . . on their way from Napal to the Ganges. Large tracts in this area do not dry up till well on in the cold weather and in some places communications are open for only three or four months of the year.'[2]

1. This is the territory which the *Mahabharata* refers to as *Jalobhava* i.e., reclaimed from swamp.
2. Darbhanga Dist. Gazett., p. 2; Hunters.

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The river side is so common that the expression 'nadidisi' (towards the river) is used for excreting purposes. The damps, the jungles where wild animals used to roam about till recently, the long grass which grows in abundance in such a land—all these give the picture of Mithila gradually coming out of water in the Cain-Ozoic Epoch.

The story of the Avataras is believed by a group of scholars to indicate the gradual stages of evolution, especially that of Vishnu as half-tortoise and half-fish. We have in Mithila, in the first instance the famous Varaha—Kṣetra. Tirtha which may indicate the evolution of man through the stage of a boar; and then there is a Pauranic story of the birth of Narakāsura by the union of Vishnu and Varaha. This may indicate in some form, the knowledge or existence of the evolution of the primitive man from half-animals and half-men in Mithila.

Of the ages that followed the age of sub-men or primitive men. the remains are so scanty in India that much cannot be said about any region, especially that of Mithila which has been so far practically wholly unexplored.

There is a great paucity of material for distinguishing 'pre-Vedic' inhabitants from the 'Vedic' inhabitants of Mithila. It is a pity that even the large number of bones including various types of skulls that were discovered at the site near Dharbhanga Railway station which is called Haḍāhi (lit. the site of bones) remained unclassified and unstudied.[3]

All that we can do in the present state of our knowledge is to look forward to the study of some apparently primitive castes and tribes of Mithila. As early as the 5th century A.D. several tribes made up the Vajjian confederacy and one of the most important ones of them was 'Lichchhavis', who were long held to be of foreign stock. But by far the most important names are mentioned in the celebrated early Maithili classic Jyotirishvara's *Varṇaratnakara*. Some such castes are Tatamā, Dhānukha, Goara, Khatabe, Amāta, etc.

3. *Vide*—Mithilanka Number of *Mithila Mihir;* also see Dbg. Dist. Gaze.; J. Kamrup A.S. Vol. X.

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Vedic Period. Nevertheless, the evidences that we have during Vedic and Pauranic Ages establish that the Vedic culture spread in Mithila at a very early date. Ever since the days of Professor Weber scholars have found unmistakable (?) reference to the settlement of the Aryans in Mithila in a legend recorded in the earlier part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[4] According to this legend, king Maṭhava carried Agni (Fire-God) in his mouth, and when the latter sprang forth he went towards the East, (from the banks of the Saraswati, in the Punjab where the king dwelt), drying up all the rivers till he came to the banks of Sadānira. He did not, however, burnt it. The Brahmanas did not cross it, therefore, thinking "it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara". 'Now-a-days, however,' observes the redactor of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 'there are many Brahmanas to the east of it', for, when Mathava reached Sadānira, he asked Agni, 'where am I to abide', and the reply was, 'to the east of this river be thy abode'.[5]

The interpretation of this story as the record of gradual Aryanization of Mithila has been questioned by several scholars. Pargiter observes, 'it is a fable, for it is described by tradition about videha[6] which shows that Ayodhya and Videha were long united and their kings were of the same stock or tree.' He further says: and, if Agni Vaiśvānara went burning along the earth from the Saraswati to Videha, Agni burnt over the Paurava territory (including North Panchāla) and the Ayodhya realm, two of the most of famous and best cultivated regions even in early times--which is absurd. If it enshrines any historical truth, it might mean that the reformed brahmanism passed from the Bharata kingdom to Ayodhya and then to Videha."

Dr. B. C. Law analyses the conclusions based on this legend, keeping in view the passage of time that had elapsed between, the

4. C. (?) 1500 B.C.—Progress of Indic Studies, p. 34.

5. See this legend in the Sacred Book of the East, Vol. XII, pp. 104-06. Comments on it in Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 151, 298-9; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 398-9; B. C. Law: *Some Kshatriya Tribes*, pp. 127-9; Bhandarkar, Charmichael Lectures, p. 14; C. V. Vaidya, *I.H.Q.*, V, p. 257; Roychoudhuri, *op. cit.* p. 46; Mehta, *Pre Buddhist India*, p. 47; Pargiter *J.A.S.B.* 1897, pp. 88 ff and *Ancient India Hist. Tradi.*, pp. 224, 311, B. C. Law: *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 235 ff.

6. This is a doubtful argument, as the commentators interpret the passages where this occurs differently.

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actual event in the Vedic age recorded in the *Śatapatha Brāmaṇa* and the date of the Pauranic accounts on which Pargiter places so much reliance. Of course, he also comes to conclusion that 'the Videha country must have received Vedic culture long before the time of the compilation of this Brahmana'. He gives three argument in support of his opinion: in the first place, in the *Brhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* which forms a part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Samraṭ Janaka is mentioned as a great patron, of Vedic culture, and it is said that the Videha Brahmanas were superior to the Kuru Panchālas in the Upanishadic phase of the development of Vedic culture. Secondly, in other works of the period various other celebrated kings and scholars are mentioned in Videha and therefore it is legitimate to assume that the Vedic (Aryan) culture has taken its root there long before the Brahmana age, most probably in the early Saṁhita age of the Rigveda. Lastly, the Yajurveda Saṁhitas mention the cows of Videha as particularly famous in Ancient India.

Professor Chakladar, who discussed at length the interpretation of this legend in a paper contributed to the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna says that far from being a story of the propagation of Vedic Culture to Eastern India from the West, it merely describes the introduction of a particular sacrificial rites. He adds, however, that in spite of this there is no dearth of evidence to prove that Vedic rites were unknown to the inhabitants of Mithila. Mathava Videgha's priest Gauthama Rāhugaṇa is credited in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[7] with the discovery of the Mitravida sacrifice which is further said to have been revived by Emperor Janak through Yājjñavalkya. Besides, earlier still, Nami Sapya, King of Videha (Vaideho Rājā) is held up, in the *Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa*, as a memorable example of a monarch who successfully performed elaborate sacrifices and thereby reached heaven. As this king appears in several passages in the Rig-

7. *tā haitām gotamo rāhūgaṇaḥ. vidām chakara sā ha Janakam vaideham pratyutsāsāda tā hāngajidbrahmaneshvaniva yesha tāmu ha yājñvalkye viveda sa ho vācha sahastram bho yājñvalkya dadmo yasminvayam tvayi mitravindamanvavidamiti vindate mitra. rastramasya bhavatyapa punamrytyam jayati sarvamāyureti ya evam vidwanetayeshdya yovai tadevam veda.* (XI. 4.3.20).

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veda,[8] he belongs to a very early period in the development of Vedic Culture in India.

Besides these, it has been pointed out by Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra that Videgha Maṭhāvās priest Gautama Rāhugaṇa is one of the important Rishis in Rigvedic Samhitas.[9]

Finally it may be noted that the Brahmanic culture must have made a very rapid progress in the country to justify its description in the latter part of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as "the centre of the intellectual activity of the age." The Mahābhārata[10] further attests that the Vedic lore was as popular in the East as anywhere else, and in the Śānti Parva[11] and in the *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*[12] the authorship of Śukla—Yajurveda is ascribed in clear terms to Yājñavalkya Vajasaneya, who belonged to Mithila.

From a perusal of all these things it becomes abundantly clear that Mithila figures prominently in Ancient History from the very beginning of Vedic period. Mithila was visited by Videgha Maṭhava and his followers and probably its marshes and jungles were cleared, and its soil was cultivated, and a great and powerful kingdom was founded.

The Jatakas confirm the fact that Videgha Maṭhava (known perhaps as Makhādeva or Mahādeva) was the earliest known im-

8. *Pra śyano na madiramamśumasmai śiro dasasya namuche rmathāyau, prāvannamīm sāpyam sasantam priṇagrāya. samicḥā sam svasti.*—VI. 20.6.
Pra me nanū sāpya ishe bhuje bhustgavāmeshe sakhyā kriṇuta dvitā, didyum yadasya samitheshu mamhayama divine śamsyamukthyam karam.—X. 48.9.
Yudha yudhamupa ghedeshi dhishnuyā pura puram samidam hamsyojasa, namya yadindra sakhya parāvati nibarhayo namuchim nāma māyinam.—I. 53.7.
The last passage referred to here (R.V. I. 53.7) says that Nami was the friend and associate of Indra in quelling the Asura Namuchi and the first (VI. 20.6) says that in the fight with Namuchi Indra protected Nami Sapya.
9. *Vide* R.V. I, 74 to 93; IX. 31, 67.
10. *atra vedamjagau pūrvam bhagavānllokbhāvanaḥ, atraivokto savitrasītsāvitrī brahmavādishu,* (Mabh. Udyogya 108 Adhyaya).
11. Mahabharata, Śānti Parva Adhy. 318-19.
12. Br. Up. VI. 4, 23.

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portant king of the country.[13] Of course, Vedic Mithila knew other kings too, such as Namī Sāpya[14] and Par Āhlāra. But they are no where recorded as the kings who founded the dynasty of Mithila. Nimi or Nami Vaideha, who is reputed in certain Puranas to have founded this line of kings in Mithila, is perhaps a later name of king or kings.[15]

At any rate, Videgha Maṭhava should be regarded as the earliest known king, if not the founder, of the Videha kingdom and of the line of Vaideha—Janakas. In course of time it seems that a confederacy of kindred peoples known as the Kośala Videhas, occupying a position no less important than that of the Kuru Panchālas, grew up at the time of the redaction of the Brāhmaṇas.

The kingdom thus founded by the Vedic Maṭhava was in course of time ruled by the Vedic Samrat Janak, the contemporary of Aruni and Yajñavalkya, and Aśvapati, a king of the Kekayas. Around his name a halo of 'legend' clings, but it is not possible to say if he is the same as Janaka Siradhvaja, the father of Sita.[16] He may, however be identified with Mahājanaka II of the

13. J. VI, p. 91—*'tesam sabbapatham' Cf.* Makhādeva Suttawa of the Majjhima Nikaya and *Culla Niddesa,* p. 80.

14. Rigveda, I. 53.7.

15. Ramayana—*nimi paramadharmātmā sarvasattvavatām varaḥ tasya putro mithirnāma Janako Mithiputrakaḥ* I. 71.3 and the Puranas (*Vayu,* p. 89, *Vishnu* IV. 5;) mention Mithi as the son of Nimi and the builder of the city, whereas Jataka VI, p. 47 G. 155 names Somanassa as the builder of the city: *'māpilām Somanaseva'*. The Valmikiya Ramayana seems to say that one Nimi was the founder of Mithila Dynasty. But he seems to have ruled after the Vedic Janaka, as he is called the penultimate sovereign of the dynasty. His identity with the Vedic King Nami Sapya is, according to some, more or less problematical. But R. Mehta has reason to identify him with Nami of *Uttarādhyāyana Sutra.* He goes on to add that though Nimi appears to have been, like Janaka, a family title of the Videha Kings, and there must have lived several Nimis, as there were several Janakas, it should be admitted that the famous and popular Nimi was one and one only, as the Janaka was (Roychoudhury 4th Ed. p. 57).

16. Bhavabhuti identifies the two in *Mahāvīracharita* I. 14 and II. 43 and in *Uttaracharita,* IV. I Raychoudhury points to the identical reference to Asvapati as contempory of both Janakas, Pradhan identifies Vedic Janaka with a much latest King Kritijanaka, disciple of Hisaugunabha Kausalya. Mehta opines that the Siradhvaja was a different king whom later literature, though his connection with Rama, the Divine personage, naively identified

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Jatakas. His date has been calculated by historians to be after the Age of Parikshitas, in about 12th Cen. B.C. (or 7th Cen. B.C. according to another synchronism.)[17] He was renowned for his munificence all over India and kings of distant countries used to be envious of him.[18] He encouraged high philosophical discussions and we are told of the numerous tournaments of argument that were held at his court.[19] He was renowned for his patronage of culture and philosophy and not so much as a king and a sacrificer. His court was crowded with Brahmanas from Kosala and Kuru Panchāla countries, e.g., Aśvala, Jaratkarava, Arthabhoga, Bhiyya Lahyayanani, Ushaṣhṭa Chakrāyāna, Kahoda Kauṣitakeya, Gargi Vachaknavi, Uddalaka Aruṇi and Vidagha Sakalaya, Yājñvalkya Vājasaneya[20] who was a pupil of Uddalaka Aruṇi was the hero of the scholastic discussions held in his court. Referring to Janaka's relation with the Kuru-Panchāla Brahmanas, Oldenbürg observes: 'The king of the east, who has a leaning to the culture of the west, collects the celebrities of the west at his court much as the intellects of Athenes gathered at the court of Macedonian princess." He was perhaps the greatest of all Janaka-Vaideha kings and he established such traditions of the Court of Mithila that for ages it became renowned for its enlightened patronage and made the Mahābhārata boast:

'Sarve rājñyo maithilasya mainākasyeva parvatāḥ, nikriṣṭabhūtā rajāno.....'.[21]

The later Vaidehan kings of Mithila are described in very confusing terms in different Purāṇas and it is very difficult to say if the long lists in Vāyu, Vishṇu or other Puranas are of the same line: indeed, there are unmistakable signs in some cases that

with the older Vedic King. As the entire Maithila dynasty of Monarchs was called Janakavamśa and had the title of 'Vaideha' and as we have reasons to beleive that there were at times several collateral lines of Janakas, who ruled contemporaneously, the problem of Siradhwaja must be held as *subjudice*.

17. But see *Chronology of Ancient India* by Pradhan, p. 134 and Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XIII Pts. p. 319 ff.

18. *Brih. Upanishad*, II. 1.1.

19. *Ibid.*, III. i; II. iv.

20. *Ibid.*, VI. 5.3.

21. i.e. all other kings were inferior to the Maithila king as other mountains are to Mainaka mountain. III. 134.5.

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synchronostic in the Puranas is due to mixing up of two collateral branches of the same line.

Pargiter's list of Vaideha-Janakas from the various Puranas is as followed:—

Manu
|
Ikshvaku
|
Nimi of Mithila City. — Vikukshishashada of Ayodhya City.

Nimi of Mithila City -b- Mithi Janaka Videha -b- Udavasu Janaka Vaideha -b- Mandivardhana Janaka Vaideha -b- Suketu Janaka Vaideha -b- Devarata Janaka Vaideha -b- Brihaduktha Janaka Vaideha -b- Mahavirya Janaka Vaideha -b- Dhritimanta Janaka Vaideha -b- Haryashva Janaka Vaideha -b- Maru Janaka Vaideha -b- Pratindhaka Janaka Vaideha -b- Kirtiratha Janaka Vaideha -b- Devamidha Janaka Vaideha -b- Vibudha Janaka Vaideha -b- Mahadhriti Janaka Vaideha -b- Kirtirata Janaka Vaideha -b- Maharoman Janaka Vaideha -b- Svarnaroman Janaka Vaideha -b- Hrasvaroman Janaka Vaideha -b- Siradhvaja Janaka Vaideha (father of Sita) (Identical with Vedic Samrat Janaka?) -b- Bhanumant Janaka Vaideha in Maithila -b- Pradyumna-Shatadyumna Janaka Vaideha -b- Muni (? Suci) Janaka Vaideha -b- Urjavaha Janaka Vaideha -b- Sanadvaja Janaka Vaideha -b- Shakuni Janaka Vaideha -b- Anjana Janaka Vaideha -b- Ritujit Janaka Vaideha -b- *Arishtamemi* Janaka Vaideha -b- Shrutayus Janaka Vaideha -b- Suparshva Janaka Vaideha -b- Sanjaya Janaka Vaideha -b- Kshemari Janaka Vaideha -b- Anenas Janakas Vaideha -b- Minaratha Janaka Vaideha -b- Satyaratha Janaka Vaideha -b- Upaguru Janaka Vaideha -b- Svagata Janaka Vaideha -b- Suvarchas Janaka Vaideha -b- Shruta Janaka Vaideha -b- Sushruta Janaka Vaideha -b- Jaya Janaka Vaideha -b- Vijaya Janaka Vaideha -b- Rita Janaka Vaideha -b- Sunaya Janaka Vaideha -b- Vitaharya Janaka Vaideha -b- Dhriti Janaka Vaideha -b- Bahulashva Janaka Vaideha (contemporary of famous Shukadeva vide -Bhagavata 16th Skandha 86 adhyaya) -b- Mriti or Kritakshana Janaka Vaideha (was present during the great

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Mahabharata war. But this has been objected to by Professor Rayachoudhuri. He identifies Kriti of the Purana with Karala Janaka who must have come quite later).

? Another family

Janaka Ugrasena

Janaka Janadeva

Janaka Dharmadhavaja

Janaka Ayasthuna

The Synochronism build up by Dr. Sita Nath Pradhan differs in the following manner:—

Siradhvaja		
Bhanumant	Kushadhvaja	
Satadyumna	Dharmadhvaja	
Shuchi	Kritadhvaja	Mitadhvaja
Ujanvaha	Keshidhvaja	Khandikya
Sanadvaja		
Kuni		
Svagata	Kratujit	Rajana
Suvareas	Arishtanemi	
Shruta	Shrutavus	
Sushruta	Suprashva	
Java	Sanjaya	
Vijaya	Kshunari	
Rita	Anenas	
Sunaya	Minaratha	
Vitahavya	Satyaratha	Arjuna
Dhriti	Satyarathi	Abhimanyu
Vahulashva	Upagu	Parikshit
Kriti	Shruta-Agni	Janamejaya
	Upagupta	Shatanika
	Vasu	

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Many are the stories in the Epics and the Puranas, connected with Maithila kings. The Ramayana records the marriage of Rama with the 'adopted' daughter of Siradhvaja Janaka. In the Mahābhārata the Maithila Rājā is said to have sided with Duryodhana because he had learnt the science of mace from the latter. Bhima and Karṇa are said to have conquered Mithila, the capital, in the course of their *Digvijayas*. It is, however, as a place of jñāna and spiritual enlightenment that Mithila is specially glorified—the celebrated story of young Śukadeva and of the Maithila Dharmavyādha are too well known to be described.

We do not know exactly how finally this great line of kings came to an end. Scholars have interpreted references in the Buddhist and Pauranic literature to show that one Kalāra Janaka[22] actually 'rounded' off the dynasty. It is stated in the Arthaśāstra that "Bhoja known by the name of Dāṇḍakya, making a lascivious attempt on a Brāhmaṇa maiden, perished along with his kingdom and relations; so also *Karāla*, the Vaideha".[23] Karāla, the Vaideha must be the same Kalāra (Karāla) as given in the Nimi Jataka who brought the line of Vaideha kings to an end. "The downfall of the Vaidehas reminds us of the fate of the Tarquins who were expelled from Rome for a similar crime. As in Rome, so in Videha, the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic in the Vajjian confederacy."

The royal family of Kāśī kingdom also played an important part in overthrowing the Vaidehan monarchy. The following lines—*'yatha kaśyo vā vaideho vā ugraputra ujjyam dhanur adhijyam kritva dvau vāṇavanto sapatnātivyādhinau haste kritvopatiṣhthed*,[24] probably refer to the frequent wars between the Kāśī and the Vaidehan monarchy. The Mahābhārata[25] mentions a great battle between Pratardana, King of Kāśī according to the Ramayana[26]

22. See *Mukhādeva Suttanta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. 82; Nimi Jataka. The Mahabharata, XII. 302.7.

23. *'daṇḍakyo nāma Bhojaḥ kāmāt brāhmaṇakanyāmabhimanyamanassabandhurashtro. Karālaścha Vaideḥ'* (Arthaśāstrā, Sham Sastri Ed. p. 11). This evidence is also confirmed by that of the Buddhacharita of Aśvaghosha. IV. 80.

24. Br. Up. III. 8.2.

25. XII, 99. 1-2.

26. VII. 48. 15.

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and Janaka king of Mithila. The Pali commentary *Param-attha-jotikā*[27] states that the Lichchhavis who succeeded Janaka's dynasty as the strongest political power in Videha, and formed the most important element of the Vajjian confederacy were the offerings of a queen of Kāśī.

An illustrious line of 'high-souled', a philosopher kings, which arose after the downfall of the Kurus met an inglorious end. Nevertheless they did not completely loose their importance in the history of the land.

27. Vol I, p. 158-6

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Early Muslim Invasion of Mithila

BY

PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Tirhut, the country west of Mahānañdā, was comparatively free from the Muslim conquest for a considerable period. According to a comparatively later source—"Bakhtyār Khaljī appears to have conquered Mithilā west of Mahānañdā" (*Riyāz*, p. 47, fn.); Mullā Taquiā is of opinion that Bakhtyār first conquered Mithilā and then proceeded to Bengāl. (*Maasir*, Patna, 1946). Blochman believes that Bakhtyār took possession of south-eastern Mithilā. (*JASB*, 1872). Mullā Taquiā gives us definite information, with dates, about Bakhtyār's march into Tirhut on his way to Bengāl in A.H. 599 (—1201/1202 A.D.) along with the names of the Karṇāṭa rulers of Mithilā. (*Annals*-XXXV 91 ff). The Mullā holds that the third ruler of the Karṇāṭa dynasty, Narasiṁhadeva (1188-1227), was under Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengāl and was forced to be a tributary of Muhammad Bakhtyār (Ikhtyaruddin is said to have raided into Mithilā—*CHI*, III, 42). Bakhtyār firmly held Lakhnāutī, Tāṇḍā, Tājpur, Ghoroghaṭa, Barkābād, and the easternmost limit of Mithilā, *i.e.*, Purnea. Hence in the face of above facts it is not possible to agree with the findings of Mr. Chakravarti, who says—"During the 13th century, Mithilā generally escaped the deluge of Mussalmān inroads. The Muhammadans on their way to Lakhnāutī, marched from Oudh via Bihār and did not try to pass north of the Ganges (*JASB*, 1915-407)". The recent researches have proved facts contrary to the above statement. It is obvious that a portion of Tirhut, no matter whatever be the size, came under the control of the early Muslim invader. It might have been a sort of loose sovereignty as is evident from the fact that the later rulers had to make fresh conquests.

Besides his authority in greater part of south Bihar, Bakhtyār perhaps held the riverine tracts on the north bank of the Ganges from the mouth of the Gaṇḍaka river to that of the Kośī. Since Kośī in those days did not extend beyond Purnea it should be

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clearly understood here that his authority must have been limited to that area. Portions of north Monghyr and Bhāgalpur and Purnea might have been under his sway, as these areas fall under the boundary indicated above (*i.e.* between the mouths of the Gaṇḍaka and the Kośī). Purnea was the eastern boundary of Tirhut. The Tirhut king, Narasiṁhadeva, paid tribute to Bakhtyār simply to protect his kingdom against further onslaught and consequently ultimate ruin. Professor Askari believes that since Ali Mārdan was allowed to pass or cross Kośī in North Bihar, hence the whole area must have been under the Muslim domination. His conclusion does not stand verified by facts. *Diyār-i-Kośī* was the frontier outpost on the Kośī side. There is no exact evidence to show that Bakhtyār took complete possession of Mithilā and whatever reference, about its being tributary to Bakhtyār, we have, is based on the solitary evidence of Mullā Taquiā. The question of 'domination' at the beginning of the first wave of Muslim invasion is inconclusive at this stage though the fact of conquest can not be denied. Bakhtyār must have come through the side of Rājmahal and crossed the Kośī in the district of Purnea.

Local traditional sources point to the contact between the kings of Mithilā and Delhi. According to Vidyāpati's *PP*, the ruler of Delhi ruled from sea to sea, and he was helped by two young princes, Narasiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty and Chāchikadeva, the Chauhāna—(*GPP*, Tale 4 Cf—my article—*Vidyāpati's PP—an important source of India's Political History*—in the *JOT*, I, pp. 13 ff). I have identified this sultan with Muhammad Ghorī. It has been asserted that Narasiṁhadeva went to the court of Muhammad Ghorī and fought for him (for a different account, see *Mithilā*, February, 2, 1953). The good relationship between Narasiṁhadeva and Muhammad Ghorī might have facilitated the path of Ali Mardan, if we are to believe Askari's assertion (*CS*, 1954, p. 7; for local tradition cf. *MTV*, p. 115). "He could not have been allowed to pass unmolested through an unconquered and hostile region". It may be pointed out here that there was no question of any hostile region, as the people, in those days, had little concern over such issues like the defence and allied matters. The fact remains that Bakhtyār had made tributary to himself the kingdom of Mithilā without hampering its independence. It was in the spirit of friendship that the ruler of Mithilā might have allowed Ali Mārdan to cross the Kośī.

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Bakhtyār embarked on Tibetan expedition when there were already in existence independent Hindu kingdoms of Kāmrūpa, the unsubdued kingdom of Mithilā between the Kośī and the Gaṇḍaka, the Sena power in Vikrampur and the eastern Gañga empire of Orissa. At this time Ali Mārdan Khaljī was entrusted with the task of watching the eastern frontier, while Hussāmuddin Khaljī was entrusted with the defence of western march in the direction of Oudh and Tirhut. Hussām is said to have ruled the entire tract from Rājmahal hills to the lower course of the old Kośī, the accepted boundary between the kingdom of Mithilā and Lakhnāutī (*SHB*, II, pp. 9-10). The Kośī, on the side of which Iwaz received Ali Mardan Khaljī, coming from Delhi, was the boundary of Bakhtyār's territory (*Riyāz*, p. 47). It is not known as to what happened to Bakhtyār's kingdom after his death—whether it passed on to Delhi sultanate or to the kingdom of Lakhnāuti. The sources are conflicting and hence the difficulty. Bakhtiyār's Tibetan expedition was a total failure and this gave respite to the ruling Hindu dynasties of eastern India. The soldiers of Bakhtyār stood demoralised and he was murdered by Ali Mardan in 1206 A.D. Even his (Bakhtyār's) son, Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad, who held fiefs between the Gañges and the Śoṇ, raided into Bihār and Tirhut. Had Tirhut been completely subdued, there was no necessity of fresh raids into the territory.

Ikhtiyāruddin, after various raids and plunders, appeared before Qutubuddin. The fact, that Ali Mardan was appointed governor, shows that the conquests of Bakhtyār passed silently within Sultan Qutubuddin's authority. Bengāl and the whole of north-eastern India did not prove to be a bed of roses for the rulers of Delhi. Since the advent of Muslim conquest and even after the occupation of Bengāl by the Muslims, the eastern states did not easily accept the unquestioned sovereignty of Delhi. While there was sufficient scope for ambitious princes, both Muslims and Hindus, to raise their heads as independent rulers, the already existing kingdoms of Mithilā, Kāmrūpa and Orissā, left no stone unturned to preserve their independence. The very existence of the kingdom of Mithilā was under permanent threat of being occupied, sandwitched as it was between Oudh and Lakhnāutī. The absence of modern means of communication, in those days, prevented these ambitious states from being united in the name of a common cause or danger. These Hindu rulers had not yet taken for gran-

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ed the establishment of Muslim rule in India, and that is why they opposed till the last. The lack of suitable means of communications, coupled with the internal strife on account of their vain feudal concept of glory, stood in their way of progress or in the way of their unity against the successive inroads.

Ghiyāsuddin Iwaz: The exit of Bakhtyār created fresh avenues and opened the way for those ambitious adventurers who cast coveting eyes on the nearby territories. The independent kingdom of Mithilā was an eye-sore to the ruling chiefs at Lakhnāutī, who never gave up their coveting eyes on this proverbial granary of Bihār. Qutubuddin's governor of Oudh, Rumi, was ordered to march to Lakhnāutī and in 1207 he crossed the river Kośī where Hussāmudin Iwaz hurried to receive him and placed his services at his disposal (*Annals*, XXXV, 109). We know that Ali Mardan was made the viceroy of Lakhnāutī by Qutubuddin. His treachery was well-known to the Khaljī nobles of Lakhnāutī and before his departure he recruited adventerous Turks and crossed in 1210. Iwaz advanced to the banks of Kośī to receive him (*JASB*, 1873, p. 349). He restored the political unity of the Muslim principality and openly assumed the title Sultān and exacted tributes. Hussāmuddin Iwaz Khaljī, who supplanted Ali Mardan, extorted tribute from the neighbouring countries of Jājnagar, Bañga, Kāmrūpa and Tirhut (*RAMT*, I, 86, Dr. H. C. Rai holds that the claim seems to have been rather vague and put in by way of praise—Cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, 374; Cf. *JASB*, 1908, p. 157; 1915, p. 407). So far as Tirhut is concerned, the account stands confirmed by the statement of Mullā Tāquiā, who says that Narsiṁhadeva continued to send the agreed tribute to Bengāl upto the time of Sultān Ghiyāsuddin Khaljī. This policy of paying tribute enabled him to keep Mithilā internally free. Anyway, we are not aware of the exact nature of Iwaz's rule (1213-1227) in Tirhut. (*Annals*, XXXV, 109H). This much is certain that Iwaz's Sultanate consisted of Lakhnāutī, Barbakābād, Ghorghaṭa, Tājpur and Purnea. After reannexing south Bihār, he pushed his frontier upto the Gaṇḍaka in North Bihar. The Hindu Rājā of the Kośī tract followed the policy of "*Vetasivṛtti*" with regard to the Muslim rulers (*SHB*, II, 29). The evidences hitherto at our disposal, show that Tirhut sent offerings to Iwaz. (*ED.*, II, 319). The weakness of the one was the opportunity for others. The

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instability in political life created chances for those who wanted to fish in the troubled waters.

While we have no definite information about the actual state of affairs, then obtaining in North India, there are scholars who pass judgment on things uncertain. Dr. Kanungo, in his *resume*, has observed "The old Karṇāṭaka kingdom of Mithilā was about this time (1213-1227) breaking into fragments, after the death of Arimalladeva, and these princes in despair of holding their possessions in the plains hemmed in between the Muslim provinces of Oudh on one side and the territory of Lakhnāutī on the other were seeking compensation in the valley of Nepāl. The ruler of eastern Tirhut could not but come within the sphere of influence of Lakhnāutī". Elsewhere I have discussed the futility of such assertions (*Annals*, XXXV). It has to be pointed out here that Arimalladeva was not the king of Mithilā, during the period referred to by Kanungo; nor was there any king of that name in Mithilā ever. Askari, while writing on the Turco-Afgan period, (*CS*, 1954) did not look to that statement of Kanungo, which is confusing. There is no doubt that Iwaz made a bid for overlordship over the eastern provinces. This excited the fury Illtutmish, who sent forces against Bihar to wrest it from Sultān Ghiyāsuddin Khaljī.

Illtutmish and the conquest of Bihār and Tirhut

The Delhi Sultān, himself, appeared, with an army, with the intention of conquering Bihār and Bengāl in 1225 A.D. The contemporary historian, Minhāj, says—".....the august Sultān, on several occasion sent forces from the capital towards Lakhnāutī, acquired possession of Bihār and installed his owm *Amirs* therein". It is held that the progress of the Sultān was arrested at some point in Bihār and a treaty was concluded between the two. Iwaz is said to have sent to Sultān Illtutmish thirty-eight heads of elephants and seventy thousand *tañqās*, in cash, as presents and acknowledged his authority. (*RAMT*, I. 86-87; According to *TN*, 30 elephants and 80,0000 of rupees.) *TN* shows Darbhangā as a part of Illtutmish's empire. Ghiyās was brought into obedience. Illtutmish established *sicca* and *khutba* in his own name and returned to Delhi. (*TP*, p. 46). Illtutmish succeeded in separating Bihār from Bengāl and placed Allauddin Malik Jāni incharge of Bihar. The departure of Illtutmish emboldened Iwaz who expelled Jāni from Bihar. Mullā Taquiā informs us that the

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Tirhut King Narasiṁhadeva helped Iwaz in conquering Bihār. It appears that some part of alliance between the two chiefs of eastern India existed and both of them were decidedly opposed to the extension of Delhi's expansion in the east. It was natural because both of them were enjoying the fruits of independence in their respective kingdoms. Whenever the question of opposition to the Delhi Sultanate came up, it seem that the Hindu Kingdom of Tirhut and Muslim ruler of Bengal used to combine on such occassions.

The expelled Governor of Bihar, Malik Jāni, joined Prince Nasiruddin Mahmud, who was busy with suppressing the Hindu rebels of Oudh. Only two years after his expulsion (624 A.H. 1227 A.D.) Jāni brought Nasiruddin Mahmud (eldest son of the emperor) from Oudh to the frontier of Tirhut and concentrated large forces there. At that time Iwaz was busy with the conquest of east Bengāl. Iwaz was defeated and killed. Nasiruddin Mahmud united the provinces of Oudh and Bengāl under one rule and shifted the residence to Lakhnāutī. He died soon (1229 A.D.) and Malik Alauddin Jani (a Shahzada of Turkestan) was put in charge of the government of Bengāl, while Malik Saifuddin Aibak was made the Governor of Bihār. I do not find any ground to agree with Dr. Thakur, who, relying on the *Riyaz*, observes—"Mussalman Bengāl kingdom in pre-Mughal times included for the most part the whole of North Bihār." (*TM*, p. 398. His statement on p. 399 in the same vein is unconvincing and confusing. He contradicts himself by his own statements later on). Facts, at our disposal, prove to the contrary.

Narasiṁhadeva, in order to save the integrity and independence of his kingdom, apologised to Illtutmish for his alleged complicity with Iwaz. He, by his successful policy, succeeded in maintaining the independence of Mithilā. On the authority of Mullā Taquiā we can say that Tirhut still continued to be an independent kingdom and any contact with the Muslims, either in the shape of alliance or subordination, if any, was due mainly to diplomatic necessity. In view of these facts, it is difficult to give any credence to Dr. Kanungo's statements (*SHB*, II, 22/23) which seems to be his own invention without any foundation. Narasiṁhadeva ruled upto 1227 as an independent king and was succeeded by his son Rāmasiṁhadeva who had a very long reign. The inde-

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pendent status of the Karṇāṭa kingdom can not be questioned on any score, though occasional raids and other disturbances, every now and then, disturbed its peaceful working. By no stretch of imagination, we can bring it under the Bengāl kingdom in pre-Mughal times. The mention of Darbhangā, Tirhut, and Bihār, in the list of conquests made by Illtutmish, and separation of Bihar from Bengal under him are important events of immense political importance. *Illtutmish, one of the greatest rulers of Indo-Muslim history, realised the importance of having a separate administrative unit for Bihar.* Though his rule could not last long, it created an event of great importance in the sense that later Muslim rulers kept a separate state of Bihār for administrative purposes. Illtutmish led an expedition against Lakhnāutī (627 A.H.) to punish Ikhtyār Khaljī, *alias* Balkā, the usurper. Aibak was replaced by the last Shamshi Governor of Bihār (630 A.H.), Tughril Tughan. Illtutmish died in 1236 A.D.

Tughril Tughan: (1236-1245)—Tughril Tughān legalised his authority, as Governor of Bihār, by procuring a formal recognition of status by Sultānā Reziyā (His titles, as known from his *Bihār Inscription, were "Ghyās-al-Islām wal Muslimin Mughis-al Muluk was salatin Abil-Fath* Tughril-as-sultānī"). From his *Bihār Inscription* (dated 640 A.H.), it appears that he was a man of lofty ambitions. He made successful raids into Tirhut which yielded him rich booty but no submission... (*SHB,* II, 46). He followed a policy of aggression, led an expedition into Orissā and extended his rule upto Kāra Māṇikapur in Oudh. As a Governor of Oudh, Tāmar Khān invaded all eastern tracts including Tirhut and carried off immense booty. He was, then, sent to Lakhnāutī to help Tughān in repelling the Oriyas (*TN,* Persian text, p. 247, Cf. *Riyaz,* p. 77 fn.). As a Governor of Bihār Tughril had to make raid into Tirhut. This shows that Tirhut was independent and hence the necessity of bringing it into obedience, a task in which Tughril did not succeed. The Tirhut king strengthened his position during the time of Reziyā sultānā. It is asserted that Tughān Khān conquered and captured the Karṇāṭa kingdom (*Mithilā*, Feb. 2, 1953) and imprisoned its king. It is further pointed out therein that in lieu of his brave services the Karṇāṭa king was later on released and respectfully sent to Darbhangā by Sultān Allauddin Masud as a king. The kingdom was restored and the Tirhut king was to pay his tax direct to Delhi (*Riyaz,* p. 74, fn. Cf. *CS,*

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1954. If Narasiṁhadeva was the king, said to be captured, the whole question of the Karṇāṭa chronology has got to be revised afresh. Regarding the sources, we know that there is a great dearth and even the text of Mullā Taquiā has passed through so many hands that sometimes its authenticity comes to be questioned, specially at a place where other sources are available). Both the *TN* and the *Riyaz* are unanimous on the point that Tughān made an inroad into the country of Tirhut from Lakhnāutī and acquired much booty. Nowhere do they say that he completely conquered it and captured its ruling chief.

Though Minhāj does not mention the name of the ruling king of Mithilā, it is certain that it was none else than Rāmasiṁhadeva. Askari has confused this king with one who was ruling in 1390 (*CS*, p. 10 fn. For correct identification see *Annals*, XXXV, 110-112, and *JIH*, XXXIV, pp. 321-327). Rāmasiṁhadeva succeeded in maintaining the independent status of Mithilā. He was an important personality of his age and this is evident from a newly discovered work from Tibet (Vide-*Account of Dharmaśwāmī*). Dharmaśwāmī stayed with Rāmasiṁhadeva at Simaraon and his description of the fort is marvellous. Dharmaśwāmī admits that Rāmasiṁha was pressed on all sides by the *Turuṣkas* and had, therefore, given special attention to the strengthening of his fort. It thus appears that Rāmasiṁha was an independent ruler, though hard-pressed under the circumstances. Regarding his date too, what Askari calls "*difficulty*" is no difficulty at all if we scientifically study the sources.

The reign of Balban: The drama of the Delhi court was moving with extreme rapidity and revolutionary changes were taking place. In the east the province of Bengāl was a problem and the signs of rebellion were not out of sight in Oudh. In between lay the independent kingdom of Tirhut, a headache to both east and west as, in a sense, it was an anachronism in the then political set-up of Northern India. The rise of Balban to power at Delhi marked a turning point in the history of the slave dynasty, as he not only subdued the rebels but also strengthened the kingdom of Delhi. During his reign, Ulugh Khān in 1253 advanced as far Bishanpur on the confines of Tirhut and returned with great spoils to the royal camp (*ED*, II, 375). The rise of Balban to power had emboldened Mughisuddin to sieze the masterless pro-

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vince of Oudh. By 1256, Balban had driven out its rebellious Governor, Malik Masud Janī, and had harried the provinces as far as the frontiers of Tirhut (*SHB*, II, 52.). After the imperial army had left Mughisuddin attacked Oudh. Tirhut, in those days, is mentioned separately; hence one ruling over Bihār, should not be taken necessarily as a ruler of Tirhut. The Karṇaṭas were ruling in Tirhut during the period under review. The Muslim sources further testify to the fact that a portion of bigger geographical unit, *Diyār-i-Bañgālā*, had till then, remained independent, because we find Balban advising Bughrā Khān to exert himself in the conquest of that area. Whether this is to be identified with Darbhangā or not, is a problem of Tirhut history. The area around Garhī Pass (Teliāgarhī), was the gateway to Bengāl and might conveniently be called '*Diyār-i-Bañgālā* or gateway to Bengāl. As a part of Garhī was in the district of Purnea the area may be regarded as a part of a eastern kingdom of Tirhut. Since the route to Purnea was through Darbhangā it has possibly been called '*Diyār-i-Bañgālā—Duār-i-Bañg*' or Darbhangā. Possibly this is the only key to the solution, so far as the name of Darbhangā is concerned.

Balban separated Bengāl from Bihār. Bihār remained loyal to Delhi and was placed under imperial Governor. Lakhnāutī was also made a province of Delhi empire, but Balban on account of his pre-occupation with the Mongols, could not keep a vigilant eye on the farflung province of the east. Sultān Mughisuddin Tughral (1268-81), instead of acknowledging his authority, mobilised his army and advanced to Bihār. (*EIM*, 1909/10, p. 113-Cf. *Monghyr Inscription of Balban* of 677 A.H.). He issued coins and caused *Khutba* to be read in his own name. The first expedition against him was organised in 1278 under Malik Turmati, Governor of Oudh. Tāmarkhān Shamshi and Malik Tājjuddin also joined him. The imperialist forces crossed the Sarju and advanced by way of Tirhut till their progress was arrested somewhere between Tirhut and Lakhnāutī. (*TMS*, 30-31; *TFS*, B-83). The imperialists were defeated.

Mullā Taquiā does not make any mention of Balban in his fragmentary account of Tirhut. The imperial army might have simply passed through Tirhut, leaving its status intact. While the reigns of Illtutmish and Reziya have been discussed thread-

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bare in Mulla's account there is nothing about the reign of Balban. Mithilā probably did not attract the notice of imperialists whose only ambition was to bring Lakhnāutī to book. The probability of Rāmasimhadeva's neutrality can not precluded. There is nothing to prove that "the natural boundaries of the land kept the enemies at bay" as Thakur holds relying solely on Chakravarti (*TM*, 272-73.). He contradicts himself by another statement on page 402. Cf. *JASB*, 1915, p. 407-08. There are innumerable instances to show that the Muslim army, on way to Bengāl, passed through Tirhut and vice-versa. Why the imperialist army preferred this route if "the land presented formidable obstacles"? It was not the naturl difficulty that saved Mithilā's independence, but the *Vetasivṛitti* which was responsible for its independent existence till its final conquest in 1324. Again in 1279, the Governor of Oudh, Malik Bahādur led an army against Mughisuddin. Bahadur also followed the same old route by way of Tirhut to Lakhnāutī. He was also severely defeated. Then the sultān, himself, marched in person. Mughisuddin was defeated and killed.

Buhgra Khan and Ruknuddin Kaikau's: Prince Nasiruddin Bughrā Khān was left as the Governor of Lakhnāutī in 1282 and he ruled the province for about six years, *that is*, upto 1287 A.D. When he heard of his father's death and consequent election of Qaiqubad to the throne (1287), he proceeded with a large army and entered the province of Bihār with a view to occupying Oudh. (The account is preserved in Amir Khusrav's "*Qiran-us-sa'dain*"). It seems that he followed the north Bihār route. Nasiruddin marched against him to enforce his own claims and advanced far as the banks of Gogrā in *Sarkar* Sāran. Here he was met by his son at the head of the imperial forces, and some lengthy negotiations ensued. A picturesque account of the event has been preserved in the Muslim chronicle (*Riyaz*, 88-89). Since it was the hottest part of the year, the soldiers foamed at the mouth from excessive heat. The upshot was that the father and the son were reconciled. Nasiruddin was permitted to keep Bengāl (*Ibid.*, 88-90, Cf. *SB*, p. 48-50).

Nasiruddin who succeeded by Sultan Ruknuddin Kaikau's (1291-1301). He was acknowledged as the suzrain of Bengal and a portion of north Bihār. The *Lakhisarai inscription* (*EIM*, 1917-

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18, p. 8 ff.) of the time of Ruknuddin is of great importance in so far as our history is concerned. From it we learn that, a) Bihār, which had become a part Bengāl, now again attained a separate status; b) it contains the names of great Khāns and of Ikhtiyāruddin Firuz Aitigin as Sultān and Ziauddin Ulugh Khān, the Governor and deputy Governor of Bihār respectively; c) it does not mention the then Delhi sovereign, Alaudin Khaljī, but records the allegiance of Bihār to Sultan Ruknuddin Kaika'us of Bengāl and d) assumption of lofty titles by the Bihar Governor shows (*CS*, 1954, p. 9) the attitude of the Balbani lines towards the Khaljīs. The recent discovery of the *Maheswara Inscription*, by me, of the same Governor is one of the earliest Muslim inscriptions, discovered in Bihār, confirms the claim of Firuz Aitigin. One should mark the significance of the words on the *Maheswara Inscription* "Hisn-i-Haseen" (impregnable fortress). (*Annals*, XXXVI, p. 163 ff.).

From the *Maheswara Inscription*, it is evident, that Bihār, at least upto the district of Monghyr on both sides of the Ganges upto the vicinity of the Burhī Gaṇḍaka formed a part of Kaika'us's dominion. We have seen above that Iwaz had pushed his frontier upto the Gaṇḍaka in North Bihār and from the present record it appears that Bughrā Khān or his successor Kaikau's extended the limit of the Bengāl kingdom in Bihār upto the area. Probably it was Bughrā Khān, who, on his march towards Oudh, had done it and that was later on confirmed by Ruknuddin. Here, again, Mullā Taquiā is silent about this episode. The extension of Kaikaus's power in North Bihār, just a year or so after his acession, amply demonstrates that he was not a weak ruler. The assertion of Sir Wolsley Haig that Kaikau's owed allegiance to Alauddin Khaljī does not stand (*CHI*, III, 261). According to Yāzdānī the high sounding titles of Firuz Aitigin indicated that the relations between Delhi and Bengal were sufficiently strained. The authority of Firuz seems to have been unquestionable in Bihār. The high sounding titles of Firuz in the *Lakshsarai* and *Maheswara inscriptions* embolden us to infer that Bihār, no matter whatever its size, both north and south upto a certain region attained a separate status from that of Bengāl. It does not seem to be very unnatural when we take into consideration the events that had occurred on the demise of Balban. The Governor of Bihār did not lose opportunity in asserting his right and secured for himself,

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as well as for Bihār, the independent status. Hence the study of Firuz's titles are interesting. He is called Sultān Shamsuddin Firuz Shah after he took over the Government of Lakhnāutī. He appointed Tājuddin Hātim Khān to the Government of Bihār. There can be no doubt that he continued to administer the areas, once ruled by Firuz Aitigin himself.

When all these events were going on, the Tirhut chiefs were maintaining their independence, though the size of their kingdom was being reduced gradually. The *Maheswara Inscription* definitely proves that the Muslims were in possession of that part of Tirhut in 1291-92. Sakrasimhadeva was ruling in Mithilā. He is said to have been a friend of Alauddin Khaljī. The contemporary literature points to the various successive Muslim raids into the kingdom of Tirhut. We know little about the reign of Sakrasimhadeva whose reign period is also uncertain. Tradition makes him closely connected with the Khalijīs of Delhi. A slight reference to Muslim invasion of Tirhut has been preserved in the account of Mullā Taquiā. Perhaps it was during the reign of Alauddin Khaljī (in 1297-697 A.H.).

Tirhut during the period of Khalji Imperialism: There are no epigraphic or other records to show the extension of the Khaljī rule in Bihār or specially Tirhut. Here we have to rely on Mullā Taquiā who is the only authoritative guide. From the Mullā we learn that four battles were fought against the rulers of Tirhut till the time of Sakrasimhadeva. In the first two, the Maithila king defeated, near about Maqbara, the army of Alauddin Khaljī. The second battle was fought at Sakkuri, said to have been founded by Sakrasimhadeva. In the third battle, fought in 698 A.H., the Maithila King was arrested. According to Mullā's account the Khaljī's defeat near Maqbara (Darbhanga) was serious. In this night attack, the Muslims suffered a lot. Alauddin Khaljī sent help under Razi-ul-mulk Mahmud Iwas to the Muslim captain Shaikh Ismail as a result of which the Tirhut King was defeated and sent as a captive to Delhi (*MT*; Cf. *MTV*, p. 121; Jha, here, believes that the incident took place during the last days of his reign). The Mullā further informs us that Sakrasimhadeva was appointed commander-in-chief of the Khaljī army when Alauddin marched against his Hindu enemies (Taquiā's account is confirmed by Bakshi in the *BMI*, p. 484-487; Prof. Askari

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has expressed natural doubts about the identification of Ismail. Since Mullā's account has passed through various hands, such error is possible. The contents of Mullā's account regarding Khaljī's connections with Tirhut may be taken as correct and we have to rely upon it until further evidence is forthcoming, Cf. *CS*, 1954, p. 11). Sakrasiṁha fought against Rana Hammirdeva Chauhan of Ranathambor and thereby gained the favour of Alauddin Khaljī. The main strength of Sakrasiṁha lay in the touchstone of his Minister Vireśwara (*BMI*, 486-7. He associates the touchstone tale with Alauddin. For touchstone and the Tughluqs, see, p. 495-6).

Mithilā tradition preserves an account of the alliance between Alauddin Khaljī and Saktisiṁhadeva (*MTV*, p. 119. In his *Krtyaratnākara,* Chaṇḍeśwara calls Devāditya as *Hambiradhvāṇtabhānuḥ* Devāditya is said to have been honoured with the title of *Mantriratnākara* by Alauddin Khaljī). In the history of medieval India, Alauddin's conquest of Ranthambor constitutes a landmark because he selected it as the first state for trial of strength with the Rājputs on account of its proximity to Delhi. Vidyāpati also refers to this episode in his *PP* (tale no. 2. In this connection Thakur says "these literary evidences hardly find support in the statements by the contemporary historians" *TM*, 276 fn.). It is true that there is not much of truth in these tales, but on examination of contents, it appears that Vidyāpati used some solid materials before him for the construction of this story (Cf. my articles-in the *JOT*, I. No. 4). Mullā Taquiā's reference to the close collaboration between the Tirhut King and Delhi Emperor can not be rejected outright as a pure fiction. The Tirhut King is said to have gone to Alauddin's court with his Minister Devaditya and Vireśwara. Chaṇḍeśwara's mention of Hammir can not be rejected outright as he, himself, was one of important personalities of the time and a participant in the then political life. His statement should have some weight in the assessment of the period from the historical point of view. Mullā Taquiā refers to financial assistance, rendered to Alauddin, by the Tirhut King Saktisiṁhadeva (*Mithilā*, 9th. Feb., 1953).

Feristhā says that Alauddin conquered the whole of Bihār (*Briggs*, I, 366). According to Amir Khusrav, Alauddin Khaljī, after Karra, departed towards the garden of Bihār "to dye that soil with the blood as red as tulip" (*ED*, III, 543). In the light of

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Mullā Taquiā and the insistence of Mithilā tradition regarding the independence of Mithilā, it is fair to maintain that Tirhut succeeded, with all means to preserve its independent status (*BMI*, makes a mention of Hammir episode but does not make any reference to the invasion of Mithilā). Tirhut was one of many such states which maintained their independence against the imperial might of Alauddin. We know that Hindus still remained powerful rulers in the Deccan, in Tirhut, in Jājnagar, and Coṇḍwānā (HMT, p. 79). The fact, that Bengāl Sultān's authority extended upto Gaṇḍaka in Begusarai subdivision (Bihār), the very heart of Tirhut, might have forced the Tirhut king to court friendship with the Khaljī Emperor, seems plausible in the present state of our knowledge than any other conclusion. Alauddin's imperial strategy needed a *filip* in eastern India as Bengāl was hostile. The trial of strength between Alauddin and Tirhut, as shown by the Mullā, and the consequent friendship between the two are indicative of the fact that the imperialist realised the necessity of securing the alliance of this Hindu state against the Chauhāns in the west and also for keeping the Bengal ruler at bay. The Tirhut King, in return, succeeded in maintaining the independence of his country. The good relationship between Tirhut and Delhi was certainly a factor to be reckoned with by both. The fact remains that unusually big number of raids into the territory of Tirhut now became a reality and we have a reference to such activities in contemporary literature. Any source confirming Mullā Taquiā will throw more welcome light on this period of our history.

In view of what has been said above, we can agree with Professor Askari in his observation on the period, under review. The learned Professor says "……whose (Bihār) rulers acknowledged allegiance to Bengāl, either in loose subjection to, or in a state of rivalry with, and in independence of, the Delhi sovereigns from the time of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī down to the time Sultān Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq's invasion of Bengāl through Tirhut in 722 A.H. (1324 A.D. Cf. *CS*, 1954, p. 10)" This is all the more true of Tirhut than any other parts of Bihār, parts of which had already come under the direct sway of the Muslims. Traces of independent Hindu kingdom have been found in Rhotas area (*EI*, XXII, 222). There is no doubt that during this period the separate existence of Bihar and Tirhut had come to be recognised by the rulers of Delhi and they had begun

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to feel that Bihār was stepping stone to Lakhnāutī. The consistent efforts of the rulers of Delhi consummated in the conquest of Bengāl during he time of Ghiyāsudin Tughluq, who also destroyed for good the independent kingdom of Tirhut and annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. With his invasion of Tirhut in 1324 ends the career of the independent kingdom of Tirhut and there begins the history of Muslim rule.

The Tughluq conquest of Tirhut: Harasiṁhadeva was the last great king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Mithilā. In the absence of the epigraphic and numismatic sources, we have to depend solely on the contemporary literary evidence. He had to bear the brunt of several Muslim onslaught and it was during his reign that the first recorded Muslim invasion of Tirhut took place. All contemporary literary evidences are unanimous on the point that Harasiṁhadeva was a great king. He ruled over the entire portion of Mithilā after having totally subdued his enemies (Chandeśwara-*Kṛtyaratnākara*-Verse 4). Devāditya was his minister of peace and war (*Ibid.*, Verse 7). The best of his ministers, Vireśwara, after having stormed the enemy fort, excavated a big tank in *Dahivata*, a prominent city and constructed a very high palace. He settled the Brāhmaṇas and granted cities, like Rāmapura, to the Śrotriyas (*Ibid*, VS. 9-10). His son Chaṇḍeśwara, a great diplomat and a successful minister, defeated the king of Nepāl (*Ibid.*, VS. 13 and 15). The colophon of a *MSS.* of the *Vivādaratnākara* informs us that a *Tulāpuruṣa Mahādāna* was performed on the Bāgmatī in Nepāl in Śaka 1236 (—1314 A.D.). The colophon of the *Dānaratnākara* emphatically asserts that Chaṇḍeśwara rescued the earth, submerged in the flood of the *Mlechhas*, probably referring thereby to the defeat of some Muhammadan general.

Even after giving due discount to all these hyperbolic statements, one point is quite clear that there had been invasions, Muslim or otherwise, in his reign. Vireśwara is said to have stormed the enemy fort. This is supported by various tradition and in one place Harasiṁhadeva is credited with a victory against the Sultān (*NDC*, 66). Dr. Chaterji believes that Harasiṁhadeva recovered his kingdom after the tide was stemmed, since it was after the expulsion of the Muslims or after their voluntary retirement, that *Dhūrtasāmagama* and *Dānaratnākara* were composed (Cf. S. K. Chatterji and Babua Misra—*Varanaratnakara*, XVII, also, R. Mitra—*Notices*, VI, 135). According to Dr. Jayaswal, the *Dāna-*

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ratnākara verse refers to the Bengāl Sultān for which credit is given to Gaṇeśwara in his *Sugati-Sopāna* (Introductory Verse 4; Cf. *Annals*, XXXV, 115-6). Jayaswal's contention cannot be held valid for obvious reason. Bengāl Sultan was friendly towards Harasiṁhadeva as will be evident from Mullā Taquiā's statement in the following pages. I do not see any force in Singh's statement that the Surtrāna of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* was Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq (*ST*, 67. Similar view has been expressed by Mm. Jha in *MTV*, 135, who holds that Harasiṁhadeva was taken to Delhi and released later. There is no doubt that before the recorded Tughluq invasion, some sort of contest took place between the Karṇāṭas and the Muslim kings, identification of which is not possible in the present state of our knowledge, and that Harasiṁhadeva was victorious. The question of his being taken to Delhi is not supported by other sources). With Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq we come on a surer footing of sober history. We have different accounts in the various sources about the invasion of Tirhut, in 1324, by Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq.

In this connection, I shall, first of all, take up an account of the rare Persian *Mss., Basātinūl-Ūns*, now preserved in the British Museum. (In this connection my thanks are due to Mr. Meredith-Owen, Assistant-keeper of the British Museum, London, and my esteemed friend Dr. R. S. Sarma of the Patna University, who helped me in procuring the photostat copies of relevant pages of the said Mss and also to Prof. S. A. F. Alm of G. D. College, Begusarai, who very kindly read with me the entire text). The indications, relating to this *Mss* in Rieu's *Catalogue of the British Museum Persian Mss*, II, Add. 7717, are misleading. This is a Hindu tale compiled by Muhammad Sadr Ala Ahmad Hasan Dabir, an hereditary servant at the Delhi court, and a secretary to the royal chancery. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it was composed in the first year of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign. It is a good piece of literary work and the style is marvellous as well as lucid. I am giving below some extracts out of it.

(1) *Basātinūl-Ūns*: *Folio* 10. After having conquered Lakhnāuti, Sonārgāon and the suburbs (land and sea), acquired treasury, elephants, horses etc., he (Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq) proceeded towards Tirhut with a view to announcing God's *kalmā* and *shariat* of the Prophet on this side. The Rāi had a *very strong*

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fort as well. He was not very powerful but too proud of his might. He was a tyrranical ruler and had *revolted and insulted the authoriy of the previous Sultāns* (he was not at all submissive and tried in vain till the last to save the independence of Tirhut). When he came to know of the victorious Tughluq flag, being afraid of this army (then follows the description of Tughluq's army), the Tirhut king began to tremble. Mahābata's force came so rashly that the Rāi had no alternative. His wisdom failed and *left his kingdom in a state of hopelessness and did not think it wise* to live there. (Italics mine).

Folio 11. He managed to escape with the help of a swift horse, left the country and saved himself. He took shelter in a cave or a hill. (This eye-witness account does not mention the arrest of this king and his consequent removal to Delhi). The Tughluq emperor stayed there in a big town for some days to make necessary arrangements. The fort of the Tirhut king was *surrounded on all sides by waters and jungles.* The Tughluq emperor got killed those who had taken shelter there and showed liberality to those who accepted his authority. He handed over the administration of that area to the people of the region and was thus relieved of the anxiety.

Folio 12. After making these arrangements, the emperor returned to Delhi.

Here we have to remember that the author, then a member of the royal suite had journeyed along with the emperor from Tirhut to Delhi. He refers to the burning heat of the time. He describes most vividly the overwhelming heat, hot wind and hardship that he, with his companions, had supported. The account of the *Basātinūl-Ūns* is borne out by Feristha.

(2) *Feristhā*—on the authority of the *Futuh-us-Sālātin.*

In 1323, complaints reached from Lakhnāutī of the oppressions committed by the governors of that province. Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq marched in person towards Bengal—Nasiruddin came from Lakhnāutī to pay his respects, bringing with him many valuable presents and he was confirmed in his government of Bengāl.... It is related that as the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Rājā appeared in arms but was pursued into the woods (Feristhā also does not say about the arrest of this king. He confirms the views of Ahmad Hassan. The flight is unanimously ac-

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cepted in all accounts with slight variations here and there). Finding that his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet and cut down one of the trees with his own hands. The troops, on seeing, applied themselves to the work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at a fort surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The king invested the palace, filled up the ditches and destroyed the walls in three weeks. The Rājā and his family were taken, and the great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhut was left in the hands of Ahmad Khān, son of Malik Tablighā after which the king returned towards Delhi.

This statement, with slight variation, is preserved in Bihārilal's *Āinī-Tirhuta* (*AT*, p. 13, refers to the arrest of the king. Cf. Briggs, I, 406-7; *Annals*, XXXV). According to *Riyāz* (p. 91 fn.), Ghiyāsuddin stormed the fort of Tirhut. An account, preserved in the *Bayāz* of the Mullā, is important and deserves consideration.

(3) *The Bayāz of Mullā Taquiā*: Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, in 724 A.H., after suppressing Bahādur Shāh of Bengāl, invaded Harasimhapur. Ghiyāsuddin undertook an expedition against the king of Mithilā because Harasimhadeva had made a common cause with Bahādur Shāh of Bengāl and had helped him on several occasions. Harasimhadeva was arrested and taken to Delhi and the administration of Tirhut was handed over to Ahmad Khān, son of Malik Tablighā. Tirhut was conquered and the stronghold of the Karṇāṭas was demolished. A mint town named Tughluqābād or Tughluqpur was established. Muhammad bin Tughluq restored the kingdom to Harasimhadeva and appointed Commander-in-Chief. Later on Muhammad Tughluq was informed of a touchstone in possession of a Maithila minister and wanted to have it (*BMI*, p. 495-96). Since the touchstone could not be procured, he ordered the capture of the Tirhut kingdom and the transportation of the Tirhut king. The king, on hearing this news fled in 726 A.H. (1326 A.D.).

(4) *Tārikh-i-Firuzshāhi* (Barni—*ED*, III, 234). When the Sultān reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnāutī, Sultan Nasiruddin came forth with great respect, and without the sword being called into question, all the *rais* the *Rānās* of the country made their submission.

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In all these accounts with the solitary exception of Mullā Taquiā, the name of the king is missing. All accounts agree to the storming of the fort of Tirhut and the question of the flight, with slight variations. The king submitted and that is evident from all the sources. As the author of the *Basātinūl-Ūns* was an eye-witness, reliance can be placed on his version which confirms the Mithilā tradition that Harasiṁhadeva fled to Nepāl. The Mullā says that both Bahādur Shāh and Harasiṁhadeva were released after the accession of Muhammad Tughluq. This act of grace on the part of the Tughluq emperor was done on the assurance of Harasiṁhadeva that he would regularly pay taxes and that assurance brought in its train his appointment as the Commander-in-Chief. Muhammad bin Tughluq, learning about the touchstone in possession of Vīreśwara, wanted to have it. The evasion on the part of Vīreśwara, provoked the Sultān, who ordered Majdulmulk, the *mukti* of Bihār to put the Rājā in permanent imprisonment and confiscate his territories in Tirhut. The Rājā got scent and escaped to Nepāl in 726 A.H. Popular traditions do not avoid mentioning the captivity of the Rājā, as Prof. Askari thinks (*CS.*, p. 12). Jhā mentions the arrest of the king and his consequent release and the subordination of Tirhut to the *Subā* of Bihār (*MTV*, 135; *BMI*, 459, Bakshī holds that apprehending his disconfiture at the hands of Muhammad bin Tughluq, Harasiṁhadeva fled to Nepāl. Cf. Chandā Jhā's edition of the *PP.*). A fort and a mosque were also constructed there under the imperial orders.

How far the above account of the Mullā is correct, it is very difficulty to say. In the absence of any other source, we have to accept it for the time being as a hypothetical proposition. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to ascertain whether Harasiṁhadeva was arrested or not? Chaṇḍeśwara confirms that the earth was flooded with the *Mlechhas* and he rescued it (*Notices* VI, 135, No. 2069). Here *Dhūrtasamāgama* gives a little more information (*NDC*, 66). Here Harasiṁhadeva is said to have conquered the *Surtrāna*, identified by Chakravarti with Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq (*JASB*, 1915, p. 412). This identification does not seem to be probable. The eye-witness account does not mention the arrest of the king and clearly indicates his flight. Did he ignore the event? The answer must be in the negative. The *Dhūrtasamāgama* account may be construed in the following manner. Ghiyāsuddin handed over the administration to those,

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who submitted to his authority, and retired. On his retirement, Harasiṁhadeva returned to his capital and again asserted his independent authority. To please the master, Jyotiriśwara Thākur wrote *Dhūrtasamāgama* (the comedy of the meeting of the cheats) and this comedy was staged before Harasiṁhadeva. Here the king has been glorified. Umāpati in his *Pārijātaharaṇāṭaka* calls Harihāradeva a powerful king, whose name was a terror to the *Yavanas* (*Yavanavanachhedana karūla karabāleṇa.....Hindūpati Śri Hariharadeven, JBORS,* III, p. 28). It was about the time of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq's invasion, that Harasiṁhadeva fled to Nepāl. The date of flight is also known to us from the traditional sources to be 1326 A.D. (Cf. *Mithilāmoda*). The point relating to his arrest needs further investigation. (*HCIP*-IV—Chapter on the Mithilā; Also L. Petech. *Medieval History of Napal*).

In connection with the reign of Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq, we have to bear in mind that Zia Barani differs from Ibn Batuta on many occasions and hence the difficulty in arriving at any definite truth. All authorities are unanimous on the one central point and *that is* that the kingdom of Tirhut was destroyed and its capital Simraon was sacked, where Harasiṁhadeva was ruling (Cf. Allen—*Cambridge Shorter History of India,* p. 118). The last semblance of independent Tirhuta kingdom vanished.

Muhammad bin Tughluq: Muhammad bin Tughluq inherited a large empire and a treasury full of wealth. Darbhangā was the capital of Tirhut under the Tughluqs. Tirhut came to be known as Tughluqpur or Tughluqābād. He erected a big palace there. The vast empire was divided into twenty three provinces. In one of the accounts, the name of Tirhut is missing but that of Bihar is there (*Masālika-ul-Absār;* Tirhut is also missing from Ibn Batuta's list). Barani makes a passing reference to some of the provinces in which Bihar is missing but Tirhut is mentioned... (Barani; *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, p. 468; Cf. an article published in the *Vostokovedeniya*, XXII, 1957, pp. 115-129, Moscow). Barani gives a list of the following twelve provinces of the Delhi empire, *viz.*, Delhi Telang, Kāmpila, Dwārsamūdra, Mā'bar, Tirhut, Lakhnāutī, Satgāon, Sonārgāon Gujerāt, Mālwā and Deogir. Muhammad Tughluq increase it to twenty-three including Bihār. Tirhut was an important part of the empire and a mint town. It was made a separate province under the Tughluqs.

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In his learned treatise, Dr. Mahdi Hussain has brought for discussion Tale 4 of Vidyapati's *PP* and has (*HMT*, 97) identified Muhammad, following Grierson certainly, with Muhammad bin Tughluq. Its historicity, at the very root, is doubtful because Narasiṁhadeva of the Karṇāṭa dynasty cannot be a contemporary of Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51). (For details, Cf. *JOT*, I, No. 4; *JASB*, 1915, p. 412, *Annals*, XXXV). The learned Doctor has blindly accepted the argument advanced by Grierson without an eye on historical fact. Even if that point be left out, Muhammad Tughluq's control over Tirhut is an established fact. It was vigorous and effective. He appointed Qilādar Shāh Sufi at Harasiṁhapur after the flight of the king. He built a mosque and a fort which were destroyed by an earthquake in 1605. The inscription on the mosque is dated 726 A.H., the text of which is given below:

"Qallalah otaala man jaa bill hasnata falahu ashra amsalah bina Masjid al mujahid fi sabilillah Muhammad bin as Sultan as Sayeed is shaheed il ghazi ghiyasuddin waddin anarullah burhanahu is soyalat an Tarikhi Bena ehi fakul howal masjid alasqa fisanat-i-sitta wa ishreen wasabaa mayaat al hijriya un nabrewah 726" Text of *Bedibana Inscription "tamen shut in walqat-ul-aqtab-ul Akber Dar Ahad-i-sahanshah-i- adil-shah muhammad bin Tughluq lazala mulkohu-wa-daulata hu anaam Bazail izzat daulatwaddin quazi muhar i khas wa Ziknullah Bahar o ain banda Mahmud bin Yusuf Al muluqqub Bistum mah i Rabi ul awwaal sanata saba wa anbeena Mayuta"* (747—1376-7 Cf. *MT*.). The *Bedibana Inscription* further brings to light the following facts about the Tughluq rule in Tirhut (*JBRS*, XLI, p. 164 ff.). ".....a reference is intended to the fort mentioned in the Gazetteer description of the Bedibana village. The structure was made over to Izzuddin for his administration as *Quāzī*, who was a judicial officer, primarily with some ecclesiastical functions." As land revenue was the principal source of revenue, demand of the state varied in different times and places. It was a part of Tughluq's policy to tax the Hindus in such a way as not to allow them to be blinded by wealth, to become discounted and rebellious. These rulers wanted to reduce them to poverty and destitution (*IHQ*, VII, 41; *ED*, III, 230 ff.).

The establishment of a mint town at Tughluqpur is a remarkable point in the history of Tirhut. As an important currency

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town, Tirhut must have wielded some influence over the economic life of the area. Out of the two copper coins discovered from Tirhut, one is dated 731 A.H. and they bear the inscription: "province of Tirhuta or Tughluqpur". Of the coins recently discovered at Jayamaṅglāgarh, one coin bears the name of one more mint town, *Darul-i-khilafat*. There are two more Tughluq silver coins in the Jaimanglagarh finds, the reading of which is as follows: (a) *Ghazi Ghiyasuddiniya walden Abu Mozzaffar*: "*Tughluq Shah Sultan Nasir Amirul Momin;* (b) *Al Mojahed Fu Sabilil Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah*". The Tirhut copper coins of Muhammad Tughluq read: "He obeys the Sultān-surely he obeys the merciful; struck in the territory of Tughluqpur alias Tirhut, in the year seven hundred and thirty "Reverse" Stamped as a *taṅqqāh* current in the reign of the slave hopeful of mercy, Muhammad Tughluq (C. J. Brown—*Coins of India*). The coins, extant, reflect almost every important change in the emperor's policy and represent different phases. Lanepool holds that Muhammad Tughluq's forced currency was not intended to defraud. He devoted much attention to his coinage and dealt with it in a scientific way (Lanepool *Medieval India*, p. 93 ff.). In the words of Thomas, "so indeed did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to adjust its division to the altered relative values of the precious metals and to originate new and more exact representation of the subordinate circulation." (*TP*, 207, 233). His name shone upon the issues of various mints. His coins are important for the study of the Tughluq history.

Hājī Ilyas: It was during the rule of the Tughluqs that Hājī Ilyas invaded Tirhut. Hājī Ilyas was entrusted with the task of supervision, while Kāmeśwara Thākura of Oini was charged with the responsibility of collecting taxes. The accession of Hājī Ilyas (1342-1357) to the throne of Bengāl constitutes a landmark in the history of eastern India. Taking advantage of the adventerous policy of the Delhi emperor, the rulers of Gorakhpur, Champāran and Tirhut had thrown off the allegiance and had become practically independent. Isāmi, in his *Futuh-us-Sālātin* says that a rebel had proclaimed himself king at Lakhnāutī in full enjoyment of the parasol and the throne. He had been supported by the whole of Tirhut and Gauḍa, the spirit of rebellion having spread everywhere (*PIHC*, XVI, 187). The spirit of revolt was visible every-

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where within the Tughluq empire on account of the capricious and whimsical policy of Muhammad Tughluq (*ED*, III, 242-3; *SHB*, II, p. 95 ff.). The ruling chiefs of eastern India had begun to raise their heads. Though Hājī Ilyas used to send presents to Delhi, every now and then, he was virtually independent—(*RAMT*, I, 309, 317, 324, 348-49; Cf. *Riyaz*, 98-103). The extinction of Delhi's authority and the absence of union among the Hidu Rājās afforded opportunities to Haji Ilyas for ambitious and imperialistic schemes.

Hājī Ilyas invaded Tirhut with success. The subjugation of Tirhut was followed by a very daring incursion into Napal in 1346 A.D., the date of *the Bedibana Inscription*, discovered in the district of Motihari. Professor Askari says "he (Ilyas) must have followed Bengal route for reaching the hills of Svayaṁbhunātha and sacking the sacred temple of Paśupati, near Khātmandu, as it was much later that he overran Tirhut and advanced via Benares upto Bahraich." (*CS*, p. 13). Jayaswal following the *Cambridge History* (*CHI*, III, 175-263) fixes the date of the invasion of Tirhut at 1352 A.D. (*JBORS*, XXII, p. 88-90). According to the epigraphic and *Vaṁśavalī* records, the Bengal Sultān marched with a large army and caused heavy damage. The ruling king was Jayarājadeva and the invasion took place in 1346. Accidentally these two dates synchronise with each other and naturally call for an accepted theory (1346 as the date for the invasion of Mithilā by Ilyas) to be changed. Sir Jadunath and the writers following him have accepted it without any discussion on the subject (*SHB*, II, 103-104; *TM*, 407). Nepal had been practically free from the Muslim inroads till 1346 (Cf. D. R. Regmi *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, p. 153 ff. Except Bendall, Ilya's attack is omitted by all the chronicles). The route, traversed by Ilyas, to reach the valley of Nepāl, is still controversial. The *Bedibana Inscription* of 1346 is an indication of the fact that the area of Tirhut (specially western part) was under the direct control of the Tughluqs and hence it was impossible for Ilyas to follow that route. Regmi believes that Ilyas must have entered through the present district of Purnea and travelling due west must have taken the route of Bagmati (*Ibid*—The invasion took place in the month of November—December with a huge force). It was only after this conquest that Ilyas probably thought of attacking Tirhut. Perhaps the death of Muhammad Tughluq emboldened him to take such a daring step of attacking against a neighbouring territory, Tirhut, which

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had only recently been annexed to the Delhi sultanate. The invasion of Tirhut must have taken place sometime between 1347 and 1352 A.D., because it was in 1352-53, that he had to relinquish his hold on pressure by the Tughluqs (*CHI*, III, 175-263. The latest work on Mithila, *TM*, does not discuss the point at all and unhesitatingly accepts Sir Jadunath's version. It is not true that no authentic date of this invasion can be given, but, then, then one thing is sure that it can not be 1346).

Ilyas's westward campaign was a grand success. He extended his power upto Bahraich in the west. He, not only conquered Tirhut but also succeeded in stabilising his conquests by making necessary administrative arrangements there. He divided Tirhut into two parts with Būrhī Gaṇḍaka as the dividing line. He is credited with having founded the city of Shamsuddinpur (Samastipur) and laid the foundation of Hājipur, which was destined to be the central point in the determination of Muslim policy in North Bihār. According to Al Badāoni, he had built a number of forts which the infidels had destroyed (*RAMT*, I, 348-9. The municipal records confirm Mullā Taquiā's statement about the foundation of Samastipur by Hājī Ilyas). Mullā tells us that Kāmeśwara of the Oinwāra dynasty objected to the division of Tirhuta but to no purpose. Ilyas controlled the area from Nepāl Terai to Begusarai. Feristhā confirms the fact that he was the founder of Hājīpur. The Mullā further says that his power extended from Darbhanga to the mouth of Kośi. The wishes of the people were not taken into consideration and the opposition was terrorised into silence. Kāmeśwara's loyalty to Delhi was a known fact, because his kingdom was a gift from Delhi. Hence Ilyas's policy of repression and division of Tirhut should not be taken as something extraordinary. He realised the strategic importance of Hājīpur. A grip over the territory was maintained through the two newly founded cities. It is apparent that the whole of Tirhut, for the time being, was groaning under the deadweight of Ilyas's arm. It appears that his Tirhut career was meteoric in character. The Rājās of Champaran and Gorakhpur transferred their allegiance to him.

Firuz Tughluq: The startling victory of Hājī Ilyas and his dream of imperial suzerainty opened the eyes of Firuz Tughluq. Firuz had only settled down his affairs in Delhi, when he heard of the rapacious activities of Ilyas. We have seen that Muhammad Tughluq had appointed him to supervise the territory of Tirhut,

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which, by now, he had conquered. Delhi considered it as an act of betrayal and an open defiance of the imperial authority. Firuz could not tolerate the defiance of imperial authority and as such proceeded to measure swords with the Bengāl sultān.

Afif gives the following account of the march of Firuz Tughluq (*ED*, III, 293-94). "Firuz marched triumphantly in great strength .....when he arrived on the banks of Kośi.....he found the army of Shamsuddin posted in force on the other side, near its junction with the Ganges. The passage appeared difficult, so the Sultān marched hundred Kośa up the Kośi, and crossed it below Champāran (?) at the place where the river issues from the mountain but the waters ran with such force that the stones of five hundred maunds weight were borne along with the shawls. The Sultān ordered a line of elephants to be drawn across the river, both above and below the fort, to facilitate the passage. The upper line was to break the force of the current; the lower line was furnished with ropes, to which men, carried away by the stream, might cling.....the Sultān succeeded in crossing the river and followed Shamsuddin by way of Champāran and Racap(?)." Then follows details of the battle (*ED*, III, 294-95).

The above description deserves notice in view of the fact that it gives certain indications:— a) The king went straight to the bank of the Kośī, b) Ilyas's force was on the other side of near its junction with the Ganges. It appears that the two armies were face to face on either side of the junction, *i.e.*, somewhere near or opposite Rajmahal, c) the Sultān marched hundred *Kośa* up the Kośi and crossed it below Champāran(?), where the river issues from the mountain. Be it noted here that the Kośi issues from the Himalaya near Bārāhakṣetra and not near Champāran. The possibility is that Firuz moved back and followed the *terai* route to Bengāl. For to the north near the present borders of Nepāl, there is a place called Jiaran, where the Kośī narrows down to a rushing mountain torrent, being easily fordable (*SHB*, II, 106). Perhaps Afif confused Jiāran with Champāran. Racap may be identified with Rājwārā or Rājabirāja in the Nepāl territory and on way to the east near Koṣī. It is a simple conjecture. Firuz brought his troops to this point and safely got them across the river with the help of the local Rājās. Ilyas retreated down the Ganges

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Barani does not mention these places but simply states that the imperial march was through Gorakhpur, Kharoṣa and Tirhut. Chakravarti believes that Barani's Kharoṣā, between Gorakhpur and Tirhut, is probably to be identified with Champāran (*JASB*, 1913, p. 413). Out of these two accounts, one point is clear that his route lay across the Ganges to the Kośi river. Feristhā says that on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, the Zemindāras of that place made usual presents to him and they were admitted to pay their respects. Udi Simha, Muqaddam of that place, came to pay his respects and presented him suitable offerings in money. The Rājā of Gorakhpur also paid up the arrears (*SIH*, S, p. 67; Dow's translation, *Ibid.*, fn. 31." "Ilyas was the master of all Bengāl and Bihār upto Benares". There is no mention of Kośī here). In his campaign against Iliyas, Firuz was helped by the local Rājās (Cf. K.K. Basu, '*The House of the Tughluqs*' in *JASB*, XXVI, 253-N.S.). Mullā Taquiā affirms that Kāmeśwara presented himself before Firuz with suitable offerings and promised to continue as a tributary. The aim of Firuz's conquest was to re-annex the territory from the Kośī to Oudh. After subjugating the chiefs of Gorakhpur, Kharoṣa and Tirhut he made necessary administrative arrangements for the territory from Sarayū to Kośī. Then he carried on his operations against the fort of Ekadalā, where Ilyas had entrenched his position very strongly. Afif's account says that he did not annex Bengāl (*ED*, III, 294-5; *JASB*, 1915, p. 413). The peace was concluded and the king returned to Delhi without effecting his object. Later on presents were sent to Firuz Shah (*SIH*, S, p. 67-69).

When the Sultān on his return journey arrived at the bank of river Kośī, he found that rains had set in. He ordered the troops to embark in boats. The whole army thus crossed (*ED*, III, 298). The account throws some light on the flood of the Kośī,. Kośī, when in spate, is dangerous. Perhaps this was the impelling force behind Firuz's aim to appoint officers to examine the banks of all water-courses, and report how the inundations extended. If any village went to ruin, he dismissed the officers in disgrace (*IBID*, 302). After his return he consolidated his position in the Doab. Firuz's authority in Bihār is proved by a Jain stone inscription which refers to Malik Vayu as the *Māṇḍalika* (or *Muqti* or Governor) and Nasiruddin as *Shahnā* or the *Kotwāla* (*JBORS*, V; Cf. My "*Select Inscriptions of Bihār*").

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Firuz had to march this side for the second time in 759 A.H. to suppress the son and successor of Hājī Ilyas, Sikandara Shāh (His coins have been found in different parts of Tirhut). Sikandara Shāh aspired to revive the pristine glory of his paternal kingdom and as such began to show signs of his rebellious activities. Firuz marched via Gorakhpur, Chakait and Tirhut and on his return to Jaunpur in 761 A.H., he marched from there towards Jājnagar by way of Bihār, where, according to *Sirat-I-Firuzshāhi*, he reached in the spring of 762 A.H. As regards North Bihār, Barani refers to his frequent visit to Tirhut, which was brought into subjection and made loyal tributary as in the past. We know that during his expedition against Sindh, Khān-i-Jehān demanded the despatch for men to all the various dependencies of the state, *viz*, Badāun, Kanauja, Sāndil Oudh, Jaunpur, Bihār, Tirhut, Chanderi, Dhār and other states (*ED*, III, 333).

Mullā Taquiā tells us that in 1353, when Firuz came to Tirhut, Kāmeśwara and other Zemindāras submitted and promised help against Ilyas. It was through the help of the people of Tirhut that Firuz could get across the river Kośī. Firuz destroyed the division of Tirhut, created by Ilyas and re-united the two parts under his own hegemony. For the administrative purposes he appointed a *quazi* and other officials. These officers were to look to the maintenance of the imperial authority in Tirhut. It was nothing more than a re-assertion of the Tughluq authority in Tirhut. On many issues of Tirhut history, where Barani is silent, Mullā Taquiā is not explicit. There is no reference in Barani to show that there was a meeting between Kāmeśwara and Firuz. Since there is no question of meeting in Barani's account, it is futile to hope for a reference about his dethronement as Thakur thinks (*TM*, 408). The Mullā hints at a point which seems to be reasonable. Firuz had some doubt about the loyalty of Kāmeśwara and hence the appointed Bhogīśwara as a king of Tirhut. The fact is borne out by Vidyāpati (Cf. H. P. Sastri-*Kīrtilatā*, p. 4, *Piyasakha bhani Piyarojasāh surtāna samānala*). In the present state of our knowledge, we have to depend on this solitary piece of evidence so far Mithilā's relation with Firuz Tughluq is concerned.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED :—

1. *Annals*—*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
2. *NDC*—*Nepal Darbar Catalogue.*
3. *ST*—*History of Tirhut* by S. N. Singh.
4. *MTV*—*Mithilā Tattva Vimarsa* by Parameswara Jha.
5. *AT*—*Aini-Tirhut* by Biharilal.
6. *BMI*—*Mithilā bhasā maya Itihāsa* by Mukunda Jha Bakshi.
7. *TM*—*History of Mithilā* by Upendra Thakur.
8. *ED*—Elliot & Dawson.
9. *CS*—Current Studies.
10. *PP*—*Puruṣaparikṣa.*
11. *JASB*—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
12. *JOT*—*Journal of Oriental thought.*
13. *JBORS*—*Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society.*
14. *JBRS*—*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
15. *CHI*—*Cambridge History of India.*
16. *HMT*—*Rise & Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq* by Mahdi Hussain.
17. *MT*—Mulla Taquia.
18. *IHQ*—*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
19. *TP*—*Chronicles of Pathan Kings* by Thomas.
20. *PIHC*—*Proceedings of Indian History Congress.*
21. *RABT*—Ranking's Al Badaoni.
22. *SHB*—*History of Bengal* edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
23. *SIH*—*Studies in Indian History* (Sushil Gupta Edn.).
24. *Riyaz*—*Riyaz-us-Salatin.*
25. *SB*—*History of Bengal* by Stewart.
26. *TN*—*Taaqat-i-Nasiri.*
27. *EIM*—*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.*
28. R. K. Choudhary—*History of Bihar.*
29. Do. (Edited)—*G. D. College Bulletin* No. 4.
30. Do. *Mithilāka Saṁsīpta Rājanitika Itihāsa* (in Maithili —Darbhanga, 1961).

—The detailed account of the *History of Muslim Rule in Tirhut* by the writer (1200-1765 A.D.) is being published serially in the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum. It is for the first time that an attempt, in this direction, has been made on scientific lines. The history of the period, under review, is yet unwritten and the present attempt is this a pioneer work of immense importance.

R. K. CHOUDHARY

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Geographical Information from Rajasekhara's Works

BY

Dr. B. N. Puri

The importance of Rajaśekhara's works equally lies in the profound Geographical information contained in them. He seems to have written *Bhuvanakośa,* as pointed out in the introduction to his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* but the work is undoubtedly lost. His other contributions, particularly the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* do suggest that Rājaśekhara had a clear cut notion about the geography of India and the adjoining countries. In chapter XVII of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* the author furnishes most prolific information regarding the division of the world, and the details about Bhāratavarṣa. The division of the earth into seven islands, surrounded by seven oceans, with Jambudvīpa situated in the centre, and its chief mountain Mahāmeru, and the third country to the south of the Mahāmeru called Bhāratavarṣa and its nine parts, are all mentioned by the poet. He also notices countries supposed to be Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan which are included in that division of India called *Udīcya* or north; and distinguishes Siṁhala from Laṁkā. He furnishes innumerable details regarding the countries, rivers and mountains, and also the agricultural products of the five divisions of the Kumārīdvīpa, one of the nine parts of Bhāratavarṣa, corresponding to India from Cape Camorin to the Himalayas. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* he mentions a large number of places in succession, while staging the *svayambara* of Sītā, and, again, while describing the aerial flight of Rāma and his party from Laṁkā to Ayodhyā. Besides these two works, the three others—*Karpūramañjarī. Viddhaśālabhañjika,* and *Bālabhārata* also contain some information relating to the Geography of India. The data available from the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* has been covered by Mr. Dalal, followed by Mr. Sastri, who arranged the names of the places in alphabetical order, and written short notes on them. Still there is a good deal of material from other works to supplement

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it, and some place-names are also noticed in the inscriptions of that period. A study of the entire material in the light of recent researches with an attempt to identify those ones which are left out, and the use of the additional material might be an interesting study. We propose considering the subject under the following headings:—I. Division of the Universe; II. Bhāratavarṣa and its parts; III. Kumārīdvīpa and its divisions; IV. Uttarāpatha; V. Madhyadeśa; VI. Paścāddeśa; VII. Lakṣiṇāpatha; VIII. Pūrvadeśa—their Physical, Political and Commercial Geography, dealing with mountains, rivers, janapadas, cities and products of those divisions.

Division of the Universe. As usual, the universe is divided into *Svarga, Martya* and *Pātaīa.*[1] There are seven Mahādvīpas, and Jambudvīpa, is situated in the middle, the next being *Plakṣa, Śālma, Krauñca, Śāka, Puṣkara* and *Kuśadvīpa.* Each of the seven dvīpas is surrounded by a concentric ocean. Jambudvīpa engages the attention of Rājaśekhara, while other dvīpas are merely enumerated. It is situated in the middle, with three dvīpas on each of its two sides-Plakṣa[2] being first from Jambu, and Puṣkara the third from it. The mountain Meru is in the middle of the Jambudvīpa, and this island consists of seven *varṣas* or parts of and seven mountains. The Bhāratvarṣa is the southernmost one in the Jambudvīpa and includes within its boundary the mighty Himālayas. The location of Bhāratavarṣa and the reference to the Himālaya suggest Jambudvīpas identification with Asia. The Yāyāvarīya has not committed the mistake of making an absurd statement regarding

1. Kāv., p. 89 ff.

2. Jambudvīpa is mentioned in one of the minor edicts of Aśoka as the designation of the extensive region through which the Pakama (Parākrama) of the Mauryan emperor made itself felt. While noting the dominions of Aśoka, I-tsing distinguishes it from China and mentions Fu-nan or Poh-nan (Kuo) as lying on its south corner (Takakusu, pp. 12-13) Fu-nan corresponds to Siam and part of Cambodia. It had gained a wider denotation in the Epics and the Purāṇas, and amongst its divisions there is a mention of Ketumala, the valley of Vamkusu (Oxus) (*Mār. Pur.* Chap. 54. 12 f), Ilāvṛita, the district round Meru (*ibid.*, 8-14 f) which the Mahābhārata places near the sandy desert beyond the Himālayas (XVII, 2. 1-2), and Uttara Kuru, another trans-Himalayan tract (*Ait Brah.* VIII. 14)—(Cf. Rājaśekara *Kāvyamīmāṁsā,* p. 92 where Uttara Kuru is placed in the northern division of India). The island of Java is also included in the Jambudvīpa (*Brahm.* 52. 14-19).

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the size of the other Dvīpas, which according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[3] are—Plakṣa twice in area to Jambudvīpa, Śālma twice in size to Plakṣa, Kuśa twice in area to Śālma, Krauñca twice in area to Kuśa; Śāka twice in area to Krauñca, Puṣkara twice in area to Śāka. If this is calculated in terms of Jambudvīpa as one unit, it will mean that the Puṣkara was 64 times in area to the Jambudvīpa. As the latter is identified with Asia because of the location of the Bhāratvarṣa in the south and the reference to the Himalayas in it, the whole scheme of measurement of the seven islands seems to be based on wild imagination comparable to the Isles of the Blessed, or the Spanish Eldorado, and there is hardly any truth in it. The oceans surrounding these islands are mentioned as Lāvaṇa, Rasamya, Surodaka, Sārpiṣa, Dadhijala, Payaḥpayā and Svāduvāri.

Bhāratavarṣa. It is described[4] as one of the *varṣas* in the Jambudvīpa with the Himalayas as the Varṣaparvata. It is the third mountain on the southern side of the Mahāmeru which is situated exactly in the middle of the Jambudvīpa. The Vāyu Purāṇa also locates this puṇyaṭīrtha to the south of the Himavat mountain.[5] It is divided into 9 parts—Kaserumat, Tāmraparṇa, Gabhastimat, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa, and Kumārīdvīpa. The identification of these parts should go a long way in suggesting that Bhāratvarsa might include countries of Greater India. Kaserumat, the first on the list is also mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[6] and the *Harivaṁśa*.[7] S. N. Majumdar Sastri[8] identifies it with the Malaya Peninsula of which the capital Singapur abounds in excellent Kaserus (called *Kesur* in Bengali and

3. 49. 1-28. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also, the seven concentric island-continents (*Saptadvīpa Vasumatī*) separated by encircling seas, increased double and double compared with each preceding one (*Dviguṇair dviguṇair vriddhya sarvataḥ parivestitaḥ*)—Cf. Alberuni. I. 233. The Buddhists also refer to seven mountains and seven seas (Watters; *Yuan Chwang* I. pp. 31-36; Cf. Barnett. *Antiquities of India,* pp. 198 ff. for Jain cosmography).

4. *Kāv.*, p. 92. In the opinion of Lüders, Bhāratvarṣa is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga (List No. 1345).

5. 45. 75-76; Cf. *Viṣṇu* ii. 3 iii; *Mārk.* 57. 6.

6. 55. 22.

7. 6793.

8. *Ancient Geography of India,* p. 752.

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Kaseru in Hindi). This suggestion lacks plausibility.[9] Tāmrapaṇa is generally identified with Ceylon, but it is quite probable that it represents that tip of land watered by the river Tāmraparṇi in the Tinnevelly District of the Madras *State*.[10] Gabhastimat is located by scholars[11] in the south-west following the order of the nine parts mentioned in the Purāṇas and the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. Nāgadvīpa in the same sequence is placed in the western part of India,[12] and Saumya, according to the same order, may be located in the north-west direction.[13] Gāndharva may be identified with the Janapada Gāndhāra, but it can hardly be classed as a Dvīpa. Vāruṇa is supposed to be in the north-eatern direction.[14] Kumāridvīpa, the last part of Bhāratvarṣa, according to Rājaśekhara[15] comprises the Vindhya, Pāripātra, Śuktiman, Rikṣa, Mahendra, Sahya and Malaya-forming the seven Kulaparvatas in the Kumāridvīpa. According to the Purāṇas the sea girt ninth dvīpa (*ayam tu navamaś=teṣām dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvaritaḥ*)[16] is a thousand yojanas from south to north, and its east end are the Kirātas and at the west end are the Yavanas.[17] The reference to the Yavanas and

9. Alberuni places Kaserumat to the east of Madhyadeśa (I. 296) and Abul fazal between Mahendra and Śukti (Roychaudhari—*Indian antiquities*, p. 89).

10. Tāmravarṇa and Siṁhala are distinguished in the Garuḍapurāṇa. Alberuni places it to the south-east of India and Abul fazal identifies it with the tract between the Śukti and Malaya. According to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, Tāmraparaṇa, Nāgadvipā and Siṁhala may refer to distinct parts of Ceylon (Geigar. Trans., p. 6).

11. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 752.

12. Abul-Fazal places Gabhastimata between the Rikṣa and the Malaya, and the Nāgadvīpā between the Rikṣa and the Pāriyātra, while Alberuni places the former to the south of the Madhyadeśa and the latter on the south-west (Roychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 90). The *Mahāvaṁśa* places Nāgadvīpa in Ceylon (*op. cit.*).

13. It is suggested that Saumya is a misreading for Kaṭaha, identified by Coedes, a French scholar, with the present port of Kedah in the Malaya peninsula (Asutosh Mukerji Jubilee volumes, v. 3, Orientali part I, p. 4).

14. It is omitted by Alberuni, but Abul-Fazal identifies it with the western portion of the tract between the Sahya (Western Ghats) and the Vindhya.

15. *Atra ca Kumārīdvīpa Vindhyaś=ca pāriyātraś=ca śuktimān=rikṣ-parvata Mahendra-Sahya-Malayaḥ Saptaite kulaparvatāḥ Kav.* p. 92, 11, 16-17.

16. *Mārk.* 57; *Matsya*, 114; *Vāyu*, 45.

17. *Mārk.* 57. vv. 5-11.

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the Kirātas suggests that Kumārīdvīpa corresponds to the whole of India, but it is only a part of Bhāratvarṣa. One has to take Bhāratvarṣa either in the sense of Greater India, or restrict the boundaries of Kumārīdvīpa, but that would disturb the position of the sea girt ninth dvīpa of the Purāṇas, mentioned as Kumārīdvīpa in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*. One would prefer to consider Bhāratavarṣa in the sense of Greater India with its boundaries extending from Central Asia and Pamir to Ceylon, and in the east as far as Burma.

Other parts of Jambudvīpa: The *Kavyamimāṁsā* also mentions other varṣas or parts of Jambudvīpa—Kimpuruṣa,[18] Ramyaka, Hiraṇya, Hari, Ilāvrit and Uttara Kuru. Kimpuruṣa is situated immediately to the north of the Himalayas encircling the Hemakūṭa-parvata. It is second from the Mahāmeru on the southern side.[19] N. L. Dey identifies it with Nepal, but that is mentioned separately by Rājaśekhara[20] and it is included in the Pūrvadeśa. As Kimpuruṣa is mentioned to the north of the Himālayas, it is plausible to identify it with Tibet, as proposed by Dalal.[21] Ramyaka, according to Rājyaśekhara,[22] is to the north of the Mahāmeru which is situated in the middle of Jambudvīpa. Nīla forms the principal mountain of this varṣa. The Hiraṇya[23] is the next in order to the north of the Meru with the Śveta range forming the principal mountain of this varṣa. The next in ascending order is the Uttara Kuru[24] varṣa with its Śringavān mountain, the third from the Mahāmeru in the north. According to the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, this varṣa is supposed to include eastern portions of Kashgar, Tibet and eastern Turkestan.[25] While the claim over the Kashgar and eastern

18. Also called Hemakūṭa-varṣa (*Brahm.*) 34. 44; Haimavata-varṣa (*Mbh.* VI. 6-7) and Kinnarakhaṇḍa (ain. ak. v. 3, pp. 30-31).

19. *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 102.

20. *Kāv.*, pp. 39, 93.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-86.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 92; Cf. Ramaṇaka (*Matsya*, 113. 61; *Mbh.* VI, 8. 2) and Nīla-varṣa (*Brāh.* 34. 46). The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* places it to the north-west of Meru.

23. According to the *Mahābhārata* it is so named because Hiraṇyavatī flows there (VI.8. 5). It is also called Śvetavarṣa (*Brahma*, 34. 46; *Agni*, 107. 7).

24. It is also called Śrnigavad-varṣa (*Brahma*, 34. 47) and Airāvata-varṣa (*Mbh.* VI. 6. 37).

25. Griffith. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. VI, p. 425; *Bhīṣma*, Chap. 7.

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Turkestan may be accepted, Tibet seems to be out of question, as the location suggested by Rājaśekhara is extreme north separated from Bhāratvarṣa by eight varṣas. To the south of Ilāvrita[26] is placed Harivarṣa,[27] the first on the southern side of the Mahāmeru with Niṣvadha as its principal mountain.

The data dealing with cosmography and the geography of the universe with particular reference to Bhāratavarṣa seem to be based on the Pauranic evidence, adduced from the *Vāyu* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* Purāṇas. Rajaśekhara, as the author of the *Bhuvana-koṣa,* seems to be in the know of the literature on the subject, and he followed the account given in the Vāyupurāṇa rather *verbatim.* This tenth century dramatist-cum geographer does not seem to have exercised that much of care in presenting only those facts which could be rather intelligible. He, however, avoided mentioning the size of the dvīpas and their proportionate relations. The contribution of the poet so far is next to nothing but his works present exhaustive data on the division of Bhāratavarṣa or Kumārī-dvīpa into five zones with full information on the physical, political and commercial geography of these respective regions.

Northern India-Uttarapatha. Rājaśekhara mentions the five divisions of India, or the five Indies, as they are usually called by the Chinese,[28] namely—Northern India (Uttrāpatha), Western India (Paścāddeśa), Southern India (Dakshiṇāpatha), Eastern India (Pūrvadeśa) and Central India (Madhyadeśa). He refers to the Janapadas, cities, rivers and mountains situated in all these five divisions most of which can be easily identified. The exact boundaries of these divisions can be ascertained from the places associated with them. We propose considering them in the following order—Uttarāpatha, Madhyadeśa, Paścāddeśa, Dakṣhināpatha and Pūrvadeśa.

Physical Geography, Mountains and Rivers. The Northern India, according to Yāyāvarīya, represents the country to the north

26. *Mārk.* 60. 7; *Brahmā,* 25. 22.

27. Also called Niṣada-varṣa (*Brahmā,* 34· 455). The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* places Harivarṣa to the south-west of Meru (55. 2).

28. The Division of India into five regions is as old as the *Atharvaveda* (XIX. 17. 1-9) and the *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 14) and was later on adopted by others.

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of Prithūdaka (Pehoa) in the Karnal District of Eastern Punjab, on the Sarasvati (*Prithūdakātparāt Uttarāpathaḥ*).[29] The mountains of this division are the Himalayas or Himavan with the peaks Kalinda, Indrākīla and Candrācala. Kalinda is the source of the Yamunā. Candrācala probably represents that peak of the Himalayas from where the river Candrabhāgā rises. Indrākīla is another peak of the Himālayas. The other peak supposed to be in the north is Tuṣāragiri which, according to Rājaśekhara,[30] was the place where the Sarasvatī got a son Sārasvateya Kāvyapuruṣa who later on married the daughter of Gaurī at this place.[31] Dalal places it near Gangotrī. It appears that Tuṣāragiri was contiguous to the Tuṣāra country which is located by Rājaśekhara in Northern India, but, according to Sir Auriel-Stein,[32] it represents the upper Oxus valley, including Balkh and Badakshan. This peak may therefore be associated with the Uttrāpatha and not with Madhyadeśa.

The rivers of the Uttarāpatha mentioned by Rājaśekhara are Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, Candrabhāgā, Yamunā, Irāvatī, Vitastā, Vipāśa, Kuhū, Devikā and others.[33] Ganga is also given other names like Bhāgīrathī,[34] Jāhnvī and Mandākinī.[35] The poet has not followed any order while enumerating these rivers. Starting from the extreme end the first river is Kuhū which is undoubtedly the river Kabul, ancient Kubhā of the Ṛigveda,[36] Kophes of the Greeks,[37] and Koa of Ptolemy.[38] It is an affluent of the river Indus and rises at the foot of the Kohibaba and joins the Indus a little above Attok. The Sindhu or the Indus is the famous river of the Punjab and the North-west frontier. Starting as a united flow of two streams, it flows north-west over a long distance to turn south following a separately south-westernly course till it falls into the Arabian Sea, after receiving at a place called Panjanad

29. *Kav.*, p. 94.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
32. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 136.
33. *Kav.*, p. 94.
34. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, p. 162.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
36. V. 53. 9.
37. McCrindle—*The Invasion of Alexander the Great*, p. 61.
38. McCrindle—*Ptolemy's Geography* (Shastri edition), p. 81.

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(Pañcanad) the joint flow of the five other main rivers of the Punjab under the name of Chenab.[39] Its eastern tributaries mentioned by Rājaśekhara are Vitaṁsā—Vedic Vitsatā, modern Jhelum, Candrabāgā—the Vedic Asikinī, Akesines of the Greek historians, and Sandabaga or Sandalbal or Ptolemy,[40] modern Chenab, Irāvatī-Paruṣṇī of the Ṛigveda, the Hydraotes of the Greeks and the modren Ravi; Vipāśa—the Vedic river of the same name, the Greek Hypases or Hyphasis and the modern Vyas; and lastly Śatadru—Vedic Śutadrī, the Zaradros of Ptolemy and the Hesydrus of Pliny, modern Sutlej. He also mentions Devikā which may be identified with the present river Deega, a tributary of the Rāvi. According to the *Agnipurāṇa* it flowed through the country of Sauvīra and Mūlasthān (Multan) situated on it.[41] Gangā, Yamuna and Sarasvatī are too well known and need no comment.

Janapadas. The Janapadas of the Uttarapātha include countries outside the present Indo-Pakistan border. Rājaśekhara mentions in this list Tuṣāra, Turuṣka, Barbara, Vokkana, Sahuda, Uttara Kuru which all appear to be outside India. Tuṣāras and Turuṣkas are distinguished by Rājaśekhara.[42] The Tuṣāras (*Vāyu*)[43] and Tukhāras (*Rāmāyaṇa*).[44] are identical, and both forms are noticed in the *Mahābhārata.*[45] The epic tradition connects them with the Śakas, Baradas and Pahlavas. According to Auriel Stein,[46] the upper Oxus valley including Balkh and Badakshan was called Tukhāra. The Turuṣkas are noticed in several records of that period in the sense of Moammedans[47] and their settlement in the north-west might be designated by that name.

Barbara. It is also mentioned as one of the countries of the Uttarāpatha. The Barbaras are also mentioned in the *Mahābhā-*

39. The rivers of the Punjab along with Gaṅgā, Yamunuā and Sarasvatī are noticed in the famous *Nadi Stuti Hymn* (Rv. 10. 75).
40. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.
41. Chapter 200; *Skanda Chap.* 278.
42. *Op Cit.*, p. 94.
43. 45. 118.
44. *Kiṣ.* K. 44. 15.
45. *Sabhā.* 50. 1850; *Vana*, 51. 1991.
46. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 136.
47. Bhandarkar's list No. 381—recording the breaking of an image by the Turuṣkas. Cf. Nos. 448, 728, 781, etc.

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rata[48] and are associated with the Ambaṣṭhas, Paiśācas, Kulindas, as well as with the certain other tribes located in the uttarāpatha. Dalal suggests its identification with the Barbari and Barbarike of Ptolemy, and the author of the *Periplus* respectively, as an emporium in India, located by Cunningham on the bank of the Sindhu at Bhanpura in Sindh. He presumes that the northern part of Baluchistan may also be taken as the Barbara country. This suggestion is unacceptable as that part should have come in the western division of India as proposed in the Buddhist literature, and not in the Udīcya. Moreover, Rājaśekhara does not at any place mention Sindha or Sauvīra Janapadas which were under the Mlecchas at that time. He could hardly have ignored Sindha if his intention was to refer to Baluchistan. It may, therefore, be suggested that Barbara possibly represents some portion to the north-west of India, and it has little connection with the Barbarika of Ptolemy and the 'Periplus' respectively.

Vokkana. It is undoubtedly Wakhan and Badakshan lying beyond the Pamir. An inscription[49] of the Kuṣāṇa period mentions a certain lord of Vokkana who was also Kharasalerapati, and who created an endowment at Mathurā. This country may be identified with O-pi-kien of Yuan Chwang which he places between Fela-na and Ghazni in Afghanistan.[50]

Sahuda. Dalal suggests its identity with western Afghanistan where the present Safaḍokh and Sabzawar are situated, without assigning any arguments. This Janapada appears to be outside India as it is associated in conjunction with Tuṣāra, Turuṣka, and Barbara which were definitely outside the Indian frontier.

Haravurava. This country is placed between the Indus and the Jhelum, the Gandgarh mountain and the salt range.

Huhuka. Dalal[51] identifies it with the northern Kashmir, and it is supposed to be the *Hu-se-kio-lo* or Huṣkara of Yuan Chwang.[52] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* locates Huṣkapura near Varāha or Varāhamūla,

48. *Sabhā*—31. 1199; *Vana*, 253. 15254.
49. *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55ff.
50. Beal; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. 55n.
51. *Kāv.*: Appendix, p. 314.
52. Ref. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (2nd ed.), p. 115.

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32 miles west of Srinagar. This Huṣkapura was founded by Huviṣka, and if we accept the identification of a city founded centuries earlier with a Janapada or country, surely one might expect some account of the two cities founded by Kaniṣka and Vaṣiṣka, as suggested in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. That portion of Kashmir, where Varāhamūla, modern Baramūla stands, was known at the time of the Chinese pilgrim's visit by the name of Uraśa, and no rule of Philology could be stretched to identify Huhuka with Uraśa. The identification as proposed by Dalal, is open to doubt but its location in the north-west either within India or outside cannot be questioned.

Uttara Kuru. The Uttara Kurus are noticed as early as the period of the *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa*[53] but their territory seems to have varied. It is placed beyond the Himalayas along with the Uttara Mādras (*Uttarasyāṁ diśi ye kke cā paraṇa himvantaṁ janapadaḥ Uttara kuravaḥ Uttaramādraḥ*). This country is noticed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other Sanskrit works ranging over a long period.[54] Ptolemy calls it Ottorokorrhai.[55] The description, as given in the *Mahābhārata*,[56] would make it an earthly paradise, but there is no reason to believe that it is mythical land. Lassen places it to the east of Kashgar, while Dey suggests[57] that the northern portion of Garhwal comprised the land called Uttara Kuru. We would like to propose that Uttara Kuru cannot be placed in Garhwal which portion actually comes in the Madhyadeśa, but it may be located some where in the north-west. It is simply wild imagination to presume that the name perhaps exists in Korea which appertained to Uttara Kuru dvīpa. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions Dakṣiṇa Kuru.[58]

Vanayuja. This country is ordinarily identified with Arabia. Kauṭilya mentions[59] the breed of horses of Kamboja, Sindhu,

53. VIII. 14.
54. *Kiṣ.*, Chap. 43; *Pāṇ.* IV. 1. 172; *Harivam.* 8227. 8653; *Rājtar.* 4, 175; *Hem.* 946.
55. McCrindle—*Ptolemy's Geography* (2nd ed.), p. 298.
56. 13. 2841.
57. *Geographical Dictionary*, (2nd ed.), p. 213.
58. I. 4346.
59. Shammasastri. Trans. (4th ed.), p. 148.

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Araṭṭa, and Vanayuja countries as the best. It may be identified with Arabia itself but with the Arab settlements in India.

Śaka. It is a familiar name. The Śaka land has been described as divided into seven provinces.[60] Ptolemy has referred[61] to the Sakai. It should, however, be made clear that this term did not connote any fixed territory. In earlier times the country lying to the West of the Caspian sea was called Scythias, and in the Chinese annals the Yue-chi are described as expelling the Śakas from Sogdiana.[62] Earlier Patanjali associates Śakas with the Yavanas.[63] Dalal identifies[64] this Janapada with Sialkot, but that was deserted at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit and it is probable that Rājaśekhara refers to Śaka settlements in general which were scattered at different places in North-west India and the Punjab.

Kekaya. It is also known as Kaikeya. The *Mahābhārata*[65] describes Kekayas or Kaikeyas as a powerful nation, while the *Rāmāyaṇa*[66] associatas this country with Kaikeyī, wife of Daśaratha. It mentions their capital Rājagriha or Girivraja which was certainly different from the one associated with Magadha. The former, according to Cunningham,[67] may be identified with Girjak, the ancient name of Jalalpur on the river Jhelum. The country of the Kekayas is located in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[68] on the other side of the Vipāśa stretching upto Gāndhāra. It is also noticed in several other works.[69] Dey and following him Dalal locate this Janapada between the Bias and the Sutlej, but it should be placed further west on the other side of the Jhelum adjoining the Gāndhāra and Mādra. The present districts of Jhelum, Shahpur and Gujrat might correspond to the ancient Kekaya Janapada.

60. *Matsya,* 113-122.
61. Chap. XIII, 2.
62. *C.I.I.,* Vol. II, Part I, p. xix ff.
63. II. 1. 10, p. 475 (Kielhorn).
64. *Kāv.,* p. 309.
65. I. *Sabha,* IV. 126; *Vana.* 257. 15654.
66. II. 68, 19-22.
67. *Ancient Geography,* p. 685.
68. II. 68.
69. Pāṇini, 7. 3. 2; *Raghu.* 9.22; *Vāyu,* 57. 22.

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Kamboja. This janapada in the extreme north-west of India is mentioned in the Buddhist literature[70] and also by Pāṇini[71] and Patanjali.[72] The Kambojas as a people are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta*,[73] and, according to Kauṭilya,[74] the country of the Kambojas was noted for a particular breed of horses. According to the *Māhābhārata*[75] a place called Rājapura was the home of the Kambojas. H. C. Roychaudhury[76] suggests that the Kamboja janapada lay in the region of Rajapuri or Rājapur with its boundary extending as far as Kāfiristan.

Karakaṇṭha. It may be identified with the valley of Karakoram. Dalal suggests[77] Karapatha or Karabaga as it is now called on the west bank of the Indus at the foot of the salt range locally called Nilihill in the Bannu district as an alternate with a Karakaṇṭha of Rājaśekhara. It may be urged once again that Rājaśekhara seems to have ignored Sindh and the region to the west of it, and Mr. Dalal's suggestion is hypothetical.

Hūṇa. It is certain that Rājaśekhara refers to the original country of the Hūṇas rather than their conquered territory and settlement in the Mālava region. The Hūṇa maṅdal is noticed in a slightly later record.[78] The Ūnā Inscription[79] dated V. 956 records the defeat of the Hūṇas at the hands of Balavarman, a feudatory of Mahendrapāla. The Hūṇas are also noticed in several other inscriptions, but Rājaśekhara locates them in Uttarāpatha. Kālidāsa[80] mentions the country of the Hūṇas in the northern direction adding that it could be reached from Persia by crossing the river Vaṁkṣu, which may be identified with the modern Vaksh and Akshu, the two tributaries of the Oxus. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[81]

70. *Jat.* V. 446; P. V. II. 91.
71. IV. 1. 175.
72. I. 1. 1. p. 9.
73. II. 2.
74. Trans., p. 148.
75. VII. Chap. 4. 19.
76. P. H. A. I. p. 140 (5th ed.).
77. *Kāv.*, p. 283.
78. *E.I.*, Vol. XII. 102.
79. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 6 ff.
80. *Raghu.*, IV.
81. 57. 22.

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includes the Hūṇa amongst the countries sheltered by the mountains. Louis de la vallē Poussin[82] identifies Hūṇadeśa with the region of Śākala in the Junjab where Mihirakula established his capital.

Bāhlīkas. Rājaśekhara has distinguished Bāhlīka from Vahīka. The *Mahābhārata*[83] distinguishes Bāhilīkas from Śakas, Yavanas and Paradas, and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[84] they are discriminated against the Kambojas, Yavanas and the Śakas. It may be suggested that Vahīka was the earlier name of the Punjab, as it is mentioned not only by Pāṇini[85] but also in such an early work as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*[86] After sometime it became confounded with Bāhlīka from the occupation of the Punjab by the Kuṣāṇas who had originally emigrated from Balkh. The two names were interchangeable for sometime, as both are found in the *Mahābhārata,*[87] but later on Vahīka was completely replaced by Bāhlīka which alone is to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas.*[88] Dalal has identified the two, but Rājaśekhara is very explicit on this point. He mentions them as separate Janapadas.[89] Vāhlīka is evidently Balkh; and it is understandable when he associates it with far off countries like Vokkana (Badakshan). In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[90] the poet refers in *simile* to the scarlet of the Bāhlīka dames.

Vahlava. It is not yet identified. Dalal[91] conjectures its identification with Vallapura (Ballawar)—one of the hill states mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the south-eastern direction of Kashmir. It is, however, uncertain.

Lampaka. (G.O.S.) has Limpaka. Cunningham identifies[92] this country with Lapo of Yuan-chwang, and Lambatai of Pto-

82. *L'Inde,* Vol. I. p. 10.
83. VII. 121. 13.
84. IV. 43. 12.
85. IV. 2. 117; V. 3. 114.
86. I. 7. 3. 8.
87. II. 1030.
88. *Mār. Pur.,* 27. 35.
89. *Kāvya,* p. 8.
90. I. 23.
91. *Kāvya,* p. 307.
92. *A.G.,* pp. 49-50.

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lemy[93] or the present Lambhan—a small tract of country lying along the northern bank of the Kabul river and bounded on the west by Alingar and Kunar rivers. The Lampakas are described in the *Mahābhārata*[94] as a mountain tribe.

Kulūta. It is mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*,[95] and also in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[96] It is undoubtedly the modern Kulu. Yuan Chwang also mentions Kialu-to, 700 Li or 117 miles to the north-west of Jullundur.[97] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[98] mentions a people called Ulūta or Kulūta, most probably the same as Kaulūtas of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*.[99] It is also mentioned by Rājaṣekhara in the *Bālabhārata* and associated with the conquest of Mahipāla (*Ajina-Jita-Kulūtaḥ*).

Kīra. It is associated with the land and people of Kashmir according to *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[100] It is also noticed in the Khajuraho inscription[101] of Yaśovarman of the year 1011 and it was under the Ṣāhi kings. A place named Kīragrāmma or Baijanatha, a small town in the east of the Kangra district about 30 miles east of Kotkangra at a bend of the Binnan river may, for name sake, be identified with the eastern Kīrajanapada. The inscription makes it clear that a Ṣāhi king was ruling there who was a contemporary of Herambhapāla, father of Devapāla, and as the empire of the Pratihāras included East Punjab, this ruler of Kīra who was a Ṣāhi should be placed in Western Punjab or Afghanistan. It is quite possible to locate this country in South Afghanistan to the north of Kirthar Range.

Tangana. Dey following McCrindle[102] locates Tangana country stretching from the Rāmgaṅgā river to the upper Sarju.[103] The

93. *Op. cit.*, pp. 104.
94. *Droṇa*, C. 31. 4846.
95. 14. 22. 29.
96. 191.
97. *A.G.*, p. 162.
98. Vol. II, p. 174 (ed. Hall).
99. *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava*, I, 7-8.
100. II. 1. 8; 14. 29.
101. *E.I.*, Vol. I, p. 124.
102. *Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 210
103. *Dictionary*, p. 204.

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Vāyu Purāṇa[104] reads 'Tangana' and the *Mahābhārata*[105] 'Tangana' and 'Pāra-Tangana'. According to the epic description they were allied with the Kirātas and Pulindas. It is clear from Rājaśekhara's reference that they are to be located in the Uttarāpatha or north-western region, and not in the Madhya-Deśa.

Kāśmīra. Rājaśekhara does not mention Kāśmīra in the list of Janapadas of the Uttarāpatha, but in two other references he refers to this country. At one place he includes it along with the Pāñcāla, Sūrasena, Hastināpura, Vahīka, Vāhlīka and others,[106] while at another place he comments on the good poets of Kāśmīra noted for their excellence in the art of reading. Some poets from the eastern side of Kāśmīra employed according to Yāyāvarīya, a nasal tone while reading. Kāśmīra's geographical position in the Uttarāpatha remains unassailed as the poet clearly places it in that region (*tataḥ-purastāt Kavayo ye bhavanty = Uttarāpatha*).[107] Kāśmīra formed a Janapada even in ancient times. Pāṇini[108] mentions it, and Patañjalī refers to the queen of Kāśmīra (*Kāśmīra-rājñī*).[109]

Ṭakka. Rājaśekhara mentions it separately.[110] Its people, according to the poet, used to talk in a language which had an admixture of Apabhraṁśa. Yvan'-Chwang calls it Tse-kia or Taki which embraced the whole of the plains of the Punjab from the Indus to the Bias and from the foot of the mountains to the junction of five rivers below Multan.[111] The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* locates this country on the banks of the Chenab or Candrabhāgā.[112]

Ramaṭha. It is noticed in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[113] as well as in the *Bālabhārata.*[114] The poet also refers to the territory of the Ramaṭhas being forcibly taken by Mahipāla (*haṭha hṛita ramaṭha*

104. 45. 120.
105. *Sabhā,* 51. 1859.
106. *Kāvya,* p. 8.
107. *Ibid.,* p. 34.
108. IV. 1. 178.
109. IV. 1. 1. p. 193.
110. *Kāvya,* p. 51.
111. Cunningham, A. G., p. 170.
112. V. 150.
113. p. 94.
114. I. 7.

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Śrī Mahipāladeva). As suggested by Cunningham,[115] and accepted by Dalal,[116] the Ramaṭha country may represent a territory partly near the Raumaka mountain. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[117] mentions Ramaṭhas along with the Hūṇas, Śalvas and others in Northern India. If this identification is accepted, then the Ramaṭhas may be presumed to be a foreign tribe and identified with the people living at Aornos or the ruined fortress of Ranighaṭ.[118] According to Sylvain Levi they should be placed in the west.[119]

Cities. There is no reference to the cities of the Uttarāpatha in the works of Rājaśekhara, as for example, Ṭakṣaśilā, Puruṣpura, Sāgala or Alasaṅdā. The explanation for this omission may have been intentional which is not possible, or due to some other reason.

Products of this region. Rājaśekhara includes the following products of this region—*Sarala*-pine tree (*pinus longifolia*), *Devadāru*—(pinus devadaru) or deodar, *Drākṣā*-grape, *Kum Kum*—Saffron (*Crocus Sativus*), *Camara* (Bushytale of the yawk used as a chowrie), *Ajina*—the hairy skin of an antelope, *Sauvira*—*Jube*, *Srotonjana*—antimony, *Saindhava*—Rock salt, *Vaidurya*—precious stone—catśeye, etc., etc. This finishes the physical, political and commercial geography of the Uttarāpatha.

Madhyadeśa. Rājaśekhara defines Madhyadeśa as lying between the Hīmālayas and the Vindhyas, and from the east of Vinaśana to the west of Prayāga.[120] In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* he fixes Narmadā as the southern boundary of Madhyadeśa,[121] but its eastern and western boundaries extended from ocean to ocean (*Samudrayohr-Himavad-Vaindhayoś c = antar = āryāvartaḥ*). He closely followed Manu[122] in defining the limits of both Madhyadeśa

115. *A. G.*, Map, 6.
116. p. 304.
117. *Op. cit.*
118. *A.G.*, p. 67 ff.
119. *J.A.*, 1915, p. 114.
120. *Kāv.*, p. 94.
121. p. 161.
122. II. 21, 22.

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and Āryāvarta. Kullūka in his commentary explains the etymology of the world Madhyadeśa. It is so called because it is neither very superior nor very inferior and not because it is located in the centre of the earth (*N=aty=utriṣṭo n=aty-nikṛiṣṭa ity=ato'yaṁ Madhyadeśo, nātu Pṛithvī madhya*) Vinaśana is the place where Sarasvatī disappears (*Vinaśana sarasvaty = Āntadhimadeśaḥ*) Āryāvarta, according to Kullūka,[123] is so called because the Āryas live there (*Āryah vartante tatra*) and the barbarian even though attacking it repeatedly do not remain there. The islands in the ocean do not come under Āryāvarta (*Tana samudra-dvipāni nāryāvarta*). It is clear that Āryāvarta was a bigger region and included Madyadeśa. According to Patañjali,[124] it comprised the region south of the Himālayas, east of Ādarśa and west of Kālakavana. The southern limit is Pāriyātra. Ādarśa is supposed to be identical with Adarśana or Vinaśana, and Kāśikā takes it in the sense of a Janapada.[125] Kālakavana represents Rajamahal hills, while Pāriyātra, accordin to R. G. Bhandarkar[126] represents that portion of the Vindhyan range from which the river Chambal and Betwa take their rise. Vasiṣṭha[127] exactly defines the limits of Āryāvarta, as suggested by Patañjali, except that he substitutes Vinaśana for others. It is thus clear that in Rājaśekhara's time Āryāvarta connoted a wider region-greater in breadth from the one mentioned by Patañjali or even in the smṛitis of Vasiṣṭha. He, however, follows Manu in defining the limits of Āryāvarta as well as Madhyadeśa.

Antarvedi. In the same reference Rājaśekhara quotes the opinion of Ācāryas in defining the region of Antarvedi which is situated within the four boundaries of the Sarasvatī in the west, Prayāga in the east, the Gangā in the north, and the Yamunā in the south (*Vinaśana-Prayagayor-Gaṅgā-Yamaunāyoś=c=āntaraṁ =antarvedi*).[128] In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* he mentions similar boundaries but calls Pāñcāla the crescent of this Antarvedi (*Ima'ntar-*

123. *Ibid., p.*
124. II. 4. 10, p. 475.
125. IIV. 2, 124, p. 381.
126. *Early History of the Deccan,* Sc. 3.
127. I. 8.
128. *Kāvya,* p. 94.

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vedibhūṣanaṁ pāñcāla).[129] The same definition of Antarvedi is also given by Hemacandra.[130] According to Rājaśekhara, Mahodaya was inviolable. The poet also suggests that the Janapadas (countries), mountains, rivers and products of this region are too famous to be specified. Despite this omission we do notice many references to the Janapadas and cities of Madhyadeśa in other works of Rājaśekhara, and to a certain extent in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* as well.

Pāñcāla. Rājaśekhara locates it as the prominent country in the Antarvedi between the Himālaya and the Yamunā and Vinaśana and Prayāga. The country figures prominently in the Brāhmaṇa literature[131] and in the Mahābhārata.[132] According to the latter, Droṇa assisted by his people vanquished Drupada but restored him half of the kingdom, that is, that part which lay in the southern side of the Gangā and the southern Pāñcāla as far as Carmaṇāvati. The capital of the Uttara Pāñcāla was Kāmpilya-nagar, according to the Jātakas,[133] but the *Divyāvadāna*[134] calls Hastināpura as the capital. According to the Mahābhārata the capital was Ahicchatra while that of the Dakṣina Pāñcāla was Kāmpila.[135] Patañjali mentions northern and eastern Pāñcāla. It is also noticed in the Purāṇas, Rājataraṅginī and Bṛihat-saṁhitā.[136] According to Rājaśekhara the Pāñcālas of Antarvedi were highly civilised and their capital was Kanauj (*Tatr=āpi mahodayam mūlam=avadhikrity iti yāyāvarīyaḥ*).[137] The word Pāñcāla is also noticed at another place to denote the country comprising the whole of Northern and Central India. Describing the itinerary of Sārasvateya, the poet mentions that after Gauḍa he left for Pāñcāla where the Sūrasena, Hastināpura, Kāśmīra, Vahīka, Bāhlīka and other Janapadas are situated.[138] This is not

129. *Bāla.*, X. 86.
130. 949.
131. *Ait.*, 8. 23; *Sat.* 13. 5. 4. 7.
132. I. 130. 5111.
133. III. 379.
134. P. 435.
135. *Op. cit.*
136. I. 7. 38; VIII. 1095; IV. 32.
137. p. 94.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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in conformity with the division proposed by Rājaśekhara at a later place where he locates Kāśmīra and other Janapadas in the Uttarāpatha. The reference to the *Pāñcālamadhyapravṛitiḥ*, and the dress of the ladies of Mahodaya suggest that Rājaśekhara was acutally in the know of this Janapada.

Hastināpura. Rājaśekhara calls it a janapada while it should actually be the capital of the Kurus situated on the Ganges. It is quite probable that Rājaśekhara meant the Kuru Janapada denominated by its capital. The Kurus are noticed in literature[139] but by that time probable this Janapada had ceased to exist even though its capital Hastinapura continued to enjoy an important position.

Sūrasena. This country was located immediately to the south of the Kurus and east of the Matsya. Its capital was Mathurā. Rājaśekhara includes it in the countries of Northern India. The Sūrasenas had a fairly old history and they are noticed in literature,[140] as well as in inscriptions.[141]

Uttarakośala. Rājaśekhara mentions Kośala and Uttarakośala.[142] The former is included in the countries to the east of Vārāṇasi, and may be identified with Dakṣiṇakośala, while Uttarakośala connotes modern Avadh to the north of the Gangā forming part of the Madhyadeśa. This country figures in Vedic literature as also in Epics[143] and the Purāṇas. [144]

Bhadanaka. The location of this country is improperly determined. Rājaśekhara suggests that the people of this region talked a language which had an admixture of Apabhraṁśa like the people of Maru and Ṭakkas.[145] It is identified by Dey with Bhadria, eight miles to the south of Bhāgalpur, while Dalal locates this country on the authority of Pargiter with Bhatadhana, a

139. *Hari,* 1054; *Kathā,* 18, 65. 74; *Vāyu,* 451; *Bhāg.*. 9. 21. 20.
140. *Mahāh.* II. 590. 1106; *Vāyu,* 185; *Mārk.* 1. 10. 34; *Hari.,* 4973 and *B.S.,* 5. 35, etc.
141. *I.A.,* Vol. X, p. 34.
142. *Bālarāma,* p. 171.
143. Cf. *Sat. Bra.* I, 4, 1, 17; *Mahā.* 6, 347. 8. 2084. etc.
144. *Vāyu,* 186. 479; cf. *Hari.* 12832, *Brih. Sam.,* 14.8.
145. *Kāvya,* p. 51.

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country mentioned in the Mahābhārata. We propose its identification for name sake with Bhadaurana in the Patiala Estate.[146] This should meet the requirement of its contiguity with the Ṭakka and Maru countries as suggested by Rājaśekhara.

Besides these Janapadas there are a few more noticed in the Gurjara-Pratihāra records. The Sāgartāla[147] (Gwalior) inscription mentions Vatsa and Matsya, the two noted Janapadas of the Buddhist period, the capital of the Vatsa country, according to the *Mahāvastu* was Kauśāmbī, while Matsya comprised the modern territory of Jaipur with its capital at Bairat.[148]

Towns. Rājaśekhara mentions a good many towns of Northern India which can be easily identified, and a few are also noticed in the contemporary Gurjara-Pratihara records. These include Kanauj, associated with the Pāñcāla Janapada.[149] The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* mentions another name of Kanauj-Mahodaya,[150] the centre of Madhyadeśa, which is noticed in a good many Gurjara-Pratihara inscriptions[151] as a camp of Victory (*skandhāvāra*). The poet also mentions Gādhipura,[152] another name of Kanauj, but the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[153] defines it as a suburb of Kanauji, and locates it on the northern side of the city. The other names of Kanauj mentioned in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*[154] are Kauśa and Kuśasthala, besides the two mentioned by Rājaśekhara. The other cities mentioned by the poet are Ayodhyā,[155] but its name Sāketa is not noticed by him, Jālandhara,[156] Mathurā,[157] and Kārtikeya.[158] Vārāṇasi was Viṣaya.[159] Hirananda Sastri suggests that Maho-

146. Atlas sheet No. 32, D. 2.
147. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 107 ff.
148. *Mahavatsu*, Vol. II, p. 2; Vol. III, p. 59.
149. *Bāla.*, X. 90, p. 306; *Karp.* III. 37.
150. P. 8.
151. Ref. Barah, Daulatpur.
152. *Kāv.* p. 94; *Bāla.* 306.
153. *Kāv.* p.
154. 974; cf. *Rāj.* 4. 133.
155. *Kāv.* p. 85.
156. *Vidbh.* IV. 121.
157. *Bāla.* p. 70.
158. *Kāv.* p. 33.
159. *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 19.

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daya is not to be taken in the sense of a synonym of Kaṇauj, but only as a camp and not the *rājadhānī*, but we would agree with Hemacandra in taking all the names to be synonymous. The Āhār inscription mentions Tattānandapura which seems to be another name for Āhāra in Bulandshahar district.

Western India. This division, according to Rājaśekhara, starts from Devasabhā identified with Devas, the name of a state, a town, as well as of a hill. This division extended as far as Cutch, Gujrat and Brāhmaṇābād including seven mountains, a few rivers and a number of Janapadas which are enumerated in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, and can be easily identified.

(a) *Mountains.* The mountains of this region are Govardhana—probably the present one of the same name in the Mathura district, although Mathura should be in Northern India. Girinagar—modern Girinar in Kathiawar, Devasabhā-Devas, Malayaśekhara—unidentified, Arbuda—the mount Abu.

(b) *Rivers.* The rivers of this region mentioned by Rājasekhara include Sarasvatī, which is different from the Vedic river, flowing past Pattana and falling into the Ram of Cutch, Śvabhravatī—modern Sābarmatī in north Gujrat which falls into the Gulf of Cambay. Vartraghnī, another river of this region is identical with Vatrak, a tributary of Sābarmatī, the two meeting at Kaira; Mahi—the ancient river springing in Malwa and falling into the Gulf of Cambay; Hiḍimba—uncertain, and Carmaṇāvati which is actually a river of Central India—modern Cambal. Another river Siprā mentioned in the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*[160] may also be placed in Western India.

(c) *Janapadas.* Rājaśekhara furnishes two lists of Janapadas of this division—the first one in connection with the visit of Sārasvateya includes Avanti, Vaidiśa, Surāṣṭra, Mālava, Arbuda and Bhrigukaccha, while the second one is exhaustive and includes Devasabhā, Surāṣṭra, Daseraka, Travaṇi, Bhṛigukaccha, Ānartta, Arbuda, Brāhmaṇabbha and Yavana countries. The difference in names—leaving aside those which are identical—may be explained as suggesting their separate identity. We would start with the names according to the second list which is more elaborate.

160. p. 79.

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Devasabhā. This name is already identified with the *Devasa State,* and the western region is supposed to commence from here. It is not noticed in the first list which begins with Avanti. If we compare the geographical locations of Devasa and Ujjayanī, the capital of Avanti, we would find that the distance between the two, if measured in a straight line, is hardly 25 miles and it is rather improbable that there should be two janapadas in such a small area. It may, therefore, be suggested that Devasabhā was a political Janapada, while Avanti was noted for its past history and had not lost its importance. The *Mahābhārata*[161] mentions Avanti (yaḥ) as a people, but there is no reference to Devas or Devasabhā.

Vaidiśa. It naturally stands for the people of Vidiśā mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa,*[162] *Mālavikāgnimitra*[163] and in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*[164] Vidiśā is identified with the modern Bhilsa on the river Betwa or Betravati, 26 miles north-east of Bhopal. It was the capital of the ancient Daśāraṇa and Agnimitra ruled here. In the second list Rājaśekhara mentions Daseraka as a Janapada and not Vidisa, but the two are different.

Daśeraka. The word literally means 'a country without water'. It is noticed in the *Mahābhārata,*[165] by Hemacandra,[165a] and also in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*[165b] The *Mahābhārata* distinguishes Daseraka from Daśāraṇa. The former seems to be that portion of Rajputānā which may be called Maru, noted in the Ghaṭiyala[166] inscription and comprising the territory of the former Jodhpur Estate and not Malwa as suggested by Dalal, which is mentioned separately in the first list.

Mālava. It is distinct from Avanti, though Dalal identifies the two. The Mālavas as a people are mentioned in the Indian

161. III. 89. 8304.
162. 5021, 5500.
163. P. 72.
164. 124. 40.
165. VII. 397.
165a. 957.
165b. V. 67.
166. *E.I.,* Vol. IV. p. 210 ff.

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literature,[167] and the Sagartal[168] inscription of Bhoja also mentions Mālava in connection with the conquest of Nāgabhaṭṭa, II. At that time it probably formed a single Janapada and was undivided.

Travaṇī. It is not noticed in literature but we find a reference to it in the Ghaṭiyala inscription of Kakkuka. As it lay in proxity to Saurāṣṭra it may be located to the north of it. Ojha[169] suggests Malani district comprising the south-western part of Jodhpur, north of Saurāṣṭra as the ancient Travaṇī province.

Saurāṣṭra. It is mentioned in both the lists and also noticed in a number of inscription. The country has an old history,[170] dating back to the Mauryan period.[171] Ptolemy refers to a country called Syrastrene which may be identified with Saurāṣṭra (modern Sorath in Kathiawar) and it is also mentioned in the *Periplus*[172] as the sea board of Aberia (Abhira). The Una[173] inscription mentions Saurāṣṭra as a maṅdala.

Arbuda. Rājaśekhara mentions Ārbudajanapada in both the lists and it is associated with Avanti, Vaidiśa, Surāṣṭra, Mālava and Bhrigukaccha. According to the Purāṇas,[174] the Arbudas are associated with Saurāṣṭras, Avantis, Ābhiras and Suras. The Janapada seems to have centred round the Arbuda mountain which is generally identified with modern Abu—the southern end of the Aravali hills.

Bhrigukaccha. It is mentioned in both the lists. In the Kūrmaniveśa section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[175] the people of this Janapada are located in the south. Bhrigukaccha, Bharukṣeścha and Bhirukṣecha are identical names, representing the modern Broach—the Barygaza of the Greek geographers to the

167. *Mbh.* 2; *Mārk.* 58. 45; *V.P.* 177. *Kathā,* 10. 61.
168. *E.I.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 107 ff.
169. *Nag. Pr. P.,* Vol. II, p. 331.
170. *Mbh.* IV. Chap. I. 12; *Rāma* (Adi Ch. XII); Mahābhāgya I. 1. 1. p. 31.
171. *Geography,* pp. 35-36.
172. p. 140.
173. *E.I.,* Vol. IX, p. 3 ff.
174. *Bhāg.* XII. 1. 36.
175. 57222.

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north of the Narmadā and reputed to be an important sea port for oversea trade and commerce.

Kacchya. It is generally associated with the Bhrigukacchya in the Purāṇas.[176] It is called Marukṣecha in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā.[177] The Kacchas are also mentioned as a people in the Mahābhārata.[178] This country is identified with modern Cutch.

Ānartta. It is also an ancient Janapada noticed in the inscriptions of the Āndhras and the Śaka kṣatrapas of the early centuries of the Christian era.[179] It is also mentioned in ancient literature. According to Dalal it includes northern Gujrat and portions of the Mālava country and its capital was Ānarttapura, afterwards called Anandpura, the modern Vadnagar.

Brāhmaṇāvāha. It is located by Rājaśekhara in western India. Cunningham[180] identifies it with the ruined city of Brāhmaṇābād at a distance of 47 miles to the north-west of Hyderabad (Sindh).

Yavana. It seems to suggest the colonies of farmers who might have been Musalmans. After the first century A.D. this term was used to connote all outsiders and not merely the Greeks.[181] It is interesting to note that Rājaśekhara does not mention Sindha and Sauvīra which were under the Arabs at that time, and he purposely uses the term Yavanas for the Mohamedans to distinguish them from the Turuṣkas whom he places in the Uttarapātha.

Maru-māda. In an other reference[182] Rājaśekhara mentions Maru along with Ṭakka and Bhadanaka, the two Janapadas of the north who used Apabhraṁśa. The Ghatiyala inscription[183] of Kakkuka associates Maru with Maḍa and the regions connoted by them are Marwar and Jaisalmer in Rajputānā.

176. 57522.
177. V, 14, 17.
178. VI, 9. 304.
179. *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 36.
180. *Ancient Geography*, p. 306.
181. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 356.
182. *Kāvya*, p. 51.
183. *E.I.*, Vol. IX. p. 210 ff.

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Lāṭa. This Janapada is noticed in a number of references[184] and it is also mentioned in the inscriptions of that period. The people of this country hated Sanskrit and were lovers of Prākṛit. The earliest mention of this country seems to have been made by Ptolemy[185] who has referred to Larika along the sea coast including the mouth of the river Mophis-Mahī. The *Bālarāmāyaṇa* locates Lāṭa in the Western India to the north of the lower Narmadā. This Janapada seems to include the territory between the river Mahī and the lower Narmadā to the north of Bhrigukaccha.

Commercial Products. Rājaśekhara includes the following products of this region—*Karīra* (*apparis Aphylla*)—a thorny plant growing in deserts), *Tilu* (*Careya arborea* or *Salvadoa Persica*)—a group of palm trees, *Gulgula*—Bdellion, Kharjura (*Phoenics Sylvestries*—Hindi Khajur) and *Karavha*.

Cities. Besides Ujjain, the capital of Avanti noticed in the *Viddhaśālabhañjjkā*[186] and *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*[187] a few other mentioned in inscriptions and literature are Dharapadak[188] (Dhar). Ghonṭa Varśikā,[189] Māṅḍavyapura (Mandor), and Daśapura[190] (Dosarene of the Greek Geographers).

Southern India. The Dakṣiṇāpatha, according to Rājaśekhara, begins from Mahiṣmati. The term Dakṣṇāpatha, synonymous with Dakṣiṇadeśa, is noticed in early literature.[191] The Narmadā serves as the boundary line of this portion of Indian Peninsula, and it is extensive enough, comprising a number of mountains, rivers and Janapadas which are all mentioned by the poet.

(a) *Mountains.* The Vindhyadakṣiṇāpada or the Vindhya Range indicates the Satpura hills between the Tāpti and the Narmadā. Mahendra, included among the mountains of Southern India is situated in the Kalinga country,[192] which too is included

184. *Kāvya*, pp. 34, 51, 109, 110.
185. *Geography*, pp. 38, 150-153.
186. I. 10.
187. P. 50.
188. Ref. *Partapgarh Ins.*
189. *Ibid.*
190. *Kāv.*, pp. 51, 80; *B.S.*, Chap. 14.
191. *Mbh.* II, 1121; 5, 593; *Hari*, 5289.
192. *Raghu.* IV. 39-40.

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in the southern as well as the eastern group. Mahendra Giri includes the whole range of hills from Orissa to the district of Madura, including the Eastern Ghats and the range extending from the Northern Circars to Gonḍwāna. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[193] applies the name specially to the Eastern Ghats. The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Ganjam from the vallley of Mahānadī. Malaya is the name of the Ghat separating Ganjam from the valley of the Mahānadī called Trāvancore Hills extending from Coimbatore group to Cape Comorin. Mekala is south of Jubbalpore forming a part of the Vindhya Range called Amarakaṅṭaka and from here the river rises. This fact accounts for its name Mekalakanyaka. Mekalā is noticed in a number of references in the Indian literature. Palamanjara is mentioned twice by Rājeśekhara in the sense of a Janapada and a mountain. Dalal suggests its identification with Palmer Mahad, probably the Palaipatmai of the Periplus. An alternative proposed by him is Palaesimundus (of the Greeks), formerly identified with Pārasamudra, the capital of Ceylon. It may be suggested that plate 37 of the Atlas volume of the Imperial Gazetteer of India does mention Paraghat Pass close to Mahad near the Bhor State in the Bombay Presidency, and as Arbuda is mentioned both as a mountain as well as a Janapada, so also Padamaṅjara may suggest the Paraghat Pass and the region around it, identified with Mahad of the present day. Sahya represents the northern portion of the Western Ghats and, as appears from the rivers which rise from it, it extends from the river Tāptī down to the Nīlgiris.[194] Kālidāsa associates it with the people of Aparāṅta or Western India. The last mountain Śri is identified with Śrisāli which is situated near Kurnool at a distance of 50 miles from the Krishna Station.[195–196]

Rivers. The rivers of the south are mostly mentioned by Rājaśekhara. These include Narmadā[197] which rises from the Amarakaṇṭaka Hills in the Vindhyan Range, and flows into the

193. *Kiṣ.*, Chap. 67.
194. *Mārk.* p. 285.
195-196. *Raghu.* IV, 52.
197. *Vidh.* I. 15; *Kāv.* p. 68.

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Gulf of Cambay. It is a famous river noticed in Saṃskṛit literature,[198] and Ptolemy[199] calls it Namodos.

Tapi. It is the river Tāptī which rises from the Vindhyas and falls into the Arabian Sea. Strangely enough it is not mentioned in the Epics, but is noticed in the Purāṇas[200] and also in the *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇī* of Hemacandra who also mentions its other form—Tapi, Tapani, Tapanatmaja.[201]

Payasnī. The *Mahābhārata*[202] mentions it flowing through Vidharbha, and separated from the Narmadā by the Vaidurya mountains. Pargiter[203] identifies it with the modern Pūrṇā (the tributary of the Tāptī) together with the lower part of the Tāptī to which the Pūrṇā continues. B. C. Law[204] identifies it with the Pain or Painganga, a branch of the Wardha in C.P. This river is noticed in the *Mahābhārata,*[205] *Purāṇas*[206] and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*[207]

Godāvari. It is the famous river of the south mentioned in a number of works.[208] Its source can be traced to the site of the Brahmagiri situated on the side of a village Tṛiyambaka, 20 miles away from Nāsik, and flowing in the eastern direction it falls into the Bay of Bengal.

Kāverī. This river rising from a spring called the Candratīrtha on the Brahmagiri mountain in Coorg flows in the southeasterly direction to fall into the Bay of Bengal. It is also noticed in the epics and a number of other works.[209]

198. *Mbh.* II. 371, 1114; *Hari.* 1870; *Hem.* p. 83; *Ak.* 1. 2. 33.
199. *Op. cit.,* p. 200.
200. *Vāyu,* p. 176; *Bhāg.* 5, 19, 18.
201. 1095.
202. *Vana.* Chap. 112, 10289.
203. *Mārk. P.,* p. 299 N.
204. *Geog. Ess.,* p. 14.
205. III. 2318.
206. *Vāyu,* 176; *Bhāg.* 5, 19, 18.
207. 16.10.
208. *Mbh.* 3. 8176, 10216; *Hari.* 12826; *Raghu.* 13. 33; *B.S.* 16.9; *Kathā.* 6.72.
209. *Mbh.* 2. 372, 8164; *Ram.* 4, 41, 21; *Hari.* 12826; *Raghu.* 4. 45; *Vāyu,* 182, etc.

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Bhaimarthi. It is not noticed earlier but undoubtedly it is the Bhaimarthi of the Purāṇas, an affluent of the Kriṣṇā issuing from the Sahya mountain.[210]

Venā. The name of this river is noticed in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṁśa.*[211] The *Mṛicchakaṭika* places Ujjaini on the banks of the Veṇā. (*Ujjayinyam veṇātata*[212]). Varāhamihira locates this river in the southern division noted for its diamonds. It is modern Veṇā, an affluent of the Kriṣṇā. Pargiter[213] suggests its identification with the river Penar between the Kriṣṇā and the Kāverī.

Kriṣṇaveṇā. This river is evidently Kriṣṇā but the compound suggests that it denotes that portion of the river after it is joined by the river Veṇā. It is well known by this name in Sanskrit literature[214] from early times.

Vanjura. It is known as Banjula or Manjara,[215] a tributary of the Godāvarī.

Tuṅyaphadī. It is a famous tributary of the Kriṣṇā river and also noticed in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa.*[216]

Tāmraparṇī. This river is located in Southern India and it has nothing to do with Ceylon which is also known as Tāmraparnī. (*Pāli* Tambapanni). It rises from the Agastikūṭa on the Malaya Hills and flows through the district of Tinnevelly of the Madras Presidency. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[217] places it in the southern division, and is noted for pearls.

Utpalāvatī. This river in the Tinnevelly district in Southern India runs parallel to the Tāmraparṇī. It may be identified with the river Vaipar.

210. Gaz. Plate 37 C. 3, 40, B. 3.
211. 5290; *Mbh.* 3, 8175.
212. P. 175.
213. *Mārk. Pur.*, p. 303 N.
214. *Pan.* 7. 3. 2; *Mbh.* 6. 356; *Raghu.* 9. 22; *V. P.* 9. 22.
215. Gaz. 40; B. 2.
216. 5. 19. 18.
217. 14. 16; 32. 23.

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Rāvaṇagaṅgā. It is difficult to locate this river in the Southern India, very probably as the *Prefix* suggests, it belonged to the land of Rāvaṇa, that is Laṅkā.

Janapadas. Like the Janapadas of Western India, those in Southern India are also noticed in two lists—the first one mentions[218] — Malaya, Mekala, Kuntala, Kerala, Palamanjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Kaliṅga; while the second list includes[219] Mahārāṣṭra, Mahiṣka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Kratha, Kauśika; Śūrparak, Kāñchī, Kerala, Kāvara, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Siṁhala, Coḍa, Daṇḍaka, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Gaṅga, Nāsika, Kauṅkaṇa, Kollagiri and Pallara, etc. It would appear that the second list is more exhaustive and presents a complete picture of Southren India in its political aspect. These political divisions may now be considered and located.

Mahārāṣṭra. It represents the Maratha country watered by the upper Godāvarī in the north and Kriṣṇā in the south. In ancient days it was Daṁḍakāraṇya, but Rājaśekhara mentions Daṇḍaka separately. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang had also visited this country.[220]

Mahiṣka. It is identical with Mahiṣmakas of the *Mahābhārata.* This country on the lower Narmadā in ancient times had Mahiṣmatī as its capital. It is noted in ancient literature[221] as an important city.

Aśmaka. The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*[222] places Aśmaka and its people in the north-west division, but Rājaśekhara locates them in Southern India. It is included as a part of Mahārāṣṭra country. The people of this Janapada are said to have settlements on the Godāvarī.[223] In the commentary to Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra,* Bhaṭṭasvāmin identifies Aśmaka or Assaka with Mahārāṣṭra.[224] Its capital was Pratiṣṭhāna or Paiṭhana.

218. *Kāv.*, p. 9.
219. *Ibid.*, p. 89 ff.
220. Beal, Vol. II, p. 255ff.
221. *Vāyu,* 6. 366; *Hari.* 782; *Mārk. Pur.*, 57. 46; *Sutta.* II, p. 583.
222. XiV. 22.
223. *Mahāv.* Vol. I, p. 222; *ibid.*, V. 97.
224. *Law.*, p. 22.

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Vidarbha. This Janapada comprises the whole of Berar and its adjacents. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇī*[225] equates it with Kuṇḍina and so also in the *Mahābhārata.*[226] This Janapada lay to the south of Narmadā since Aja had to cross it.[227] Kuṇḍinapura, also called Vidarbha, was its capital. It is also noticed in several works.[228]

Kuntala. Rājaśekhara locates it in south India with Śātavāhanas as the rulers of this country. It is noticed both in inscriptions[229] and literature,[230] and seems to be almost coterminous with the Kanarese districts.

Krathakaiśika. This Janapada is distinguished from Vidarbha by the poet. According to the *Mahābhārata,*[231] Kratha and Kaiśika were the sons of Vidarbha, and the country Krathakaiśika was named after them. At one time it might have formed a part of the Vidarbha country. It is not mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā.*

Śūrapāraka. It is evidently Sopārā in the Thāṇā district of the Bombay Presidency, 37 miles north of Bombay and 4 miles north-west of Bassein. In ancient times merchants used to assemble here for going over seas.[232]

Kerala. It actually represents the Malabar or the Cera country comprising former Malabar, Travancore and Cochin States. It is earlier noticed in the literature.[233]

Kāñcī. Kāñcīpuram or Conjeeveram is identified by Dalal,[234] as the capital of the Draviḍa or the Cola country on the river Palar, situated at a distance of 43 miles south-west of Madras. It is associated in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta

225. 979.
226. 3. 2772. 2826.
227. *Raghu.*, V. 61. ,
228. *Rāmā.* 4. 41. 16; *Mārk. Pur.* 58. 17; *B.S.*, 81.
229. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1227, 1578, etc.
230. *Mahā.* 6. 347. 359; *Vāyu.* 185, *B. S.* XVI. 11.
231. 1. 2697.
232. *Divyāvadāna,* p. 42 ff.
233. *Pāṇini* IV. 1. 75; *Bhāg. Pur.* X. 79. 19.
234. *Kāv.* p. 284.

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with Viṣṇugupta as its ruler. The *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* mentions[235] it as a city in the Southern Janapada.

Kāvera. This Janapada seems to be the region washed by the rivtr Kāverī.

Murāla. The ladies of the Murāla country, according to Rājaśekhara, are characterised by their black complexion. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* it is identified with Kerala or Malabar,[236] but the latter is mentioned separately by Rājaśekhara in the famous verse quoted from his *Bālabhārata.*[237] Kālïdāsa refers[238] to Muralā flowing near the Sahya mountain and the Aparāntadeśa. It is identified with the land lying between Kerala and Aparānta near Sahya on the Murāla.[239]

Vanavāsaka. It is the same as Vanavasi, the capital of the Kadamba dynasty founded by king Mayūravarman. Ptolemy also mentions a town called Banaouasei on the left bank of the Varadā.[240] According to Dalal, north Kaṇara was known by this name.

Simhala. It is identified with Ceylon.

Coḍa. Coḍa or Cola country seems to have divided into a number of fragments in Rājaśekhara's time. As he mentions Kāñcī and Kāvera separately, the Coḍa country seems to represent only the modern districts of Tanjore and south Arcot in the Madras Presidency. The river Kāverī is associated with the Coḍas.[241] In the Purāṇas, the Colas are mentioned along with the Pāṇḍyas and Keralas.[242]

Daṇḍaka. Sylvain Levi and D. R. Bhandarkar identify Daṇḍakāraṇya with Mahārāṣṭra,[243] but Rājaśekhara mentions them sepa-

235. XVI. 11.
236. Chap. XIX; Dey, p. 134.
237. I. 7.
238. *Raghu* IV. 54-55.
239. Dey, p. 21.
240. Majumdar Sastri (ed.), p. 179.
241. Hultzsch: South Indian Ins., Vol. I, p. 34.
242. *Mārk.* 57. 45; *Matsya.* V. 46; *Vāyu.*
243. *J. A.* 1918, I, p. 97! G. N. Jha, Vol. p. 57.

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rately. Daṇḍaka is different from Daṇḍakāraṇya. In the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā*, Daṇḍakavana is mentioned as a country in the South, and it is associated with Timingala—very probably the Tangala or Taga of Ptolemy[244] identified with Diṇḍugal, 32 miles north by west from Madurā. Dalal identifies Daṇḍaka with Tondaimaṇḍala or Dindivānam situated between the countries of Cola and Kāñcī.

Pāṇḍya. It is an ancient[246] Janapada corresponding to the modern Tinnevelly and Madurā districts in the Madras Presidency. Kālidāsa mentions[247] Uragapury as the capital of the Pāṇḍya King.

Pallava. It was the name of a dynasty as well as of a country centring round Kāñcī. Rājaśekhara mentions the latter separately. The country surrounding Kāñcī was very probably known as the Pallava country.

Gaṅga. The name is derived from the dynasty of the western Gaṅgas who ruled over the region to the south of Mysore, comprising the districts of Nilgiris, Coimbatore and part of Malabar. Dalal suggests[248] that this Janapada comprised the districts of Coimbatore and Salem. It is quite different from the Gaṅga or Gaṅge of Ptolemy who occupied the Radha country and Saptagrāma which forms part of south Bengal.[249]

Nāsikas, the name suggests, it refers to modern Nāsik on the Godāvari. The Vāyu calls it Pancavati,[250] and it is also noticed by Ptolemy.[251]

Kaunkana. It is evidently modern Konkana. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[252] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[253] and comprised the tract lying between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. Kālidāsa names this country as Aparānta, and Mallinātha com-

244. P. 184.
246. *Pan.* IV. i, 168; *Mbh.* 2, 1174; *Mārk.* 58. 31.
247. *Raghu.* VI. 59-60.
248. *Kāv.*, p. 289.
249. Dey., p. 62.
250. Chap. 45.
251. P. 156.
252. VI. 367.
253. 193.

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menting on it quotes the lexicographer Yādava who describes it as the western country in which Śūrpāraka is included.[254]

Kollagiri. It represents modern Coorg on the Malabar Coast. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Kodagu, and so also the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*[255]

Vallara. It might represent the present Vellore.

Rājaśekhara seems to be familiar with the south. He refers to Dravidian dames polished with their tender betel husks.[256] It is rather strange that he does not refer to the capital cities or even the important cities of the south, except Nasik and Sopārā which should actually be placed in western India.

(d) *Commercial Products.* The important products of Southern India, as mentioned by Rājaśekhara are *Marica* (pepper), *tāmbūla* (betelnut), and *madhu* (honey). The products of this region were known as those of the Malaya.

Pūrvadeśa. The countries to the east of Vārāṇasī (Banaras) are placed by Rājaśekhara in Eastern India. These include Kaliṅga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Puṇḍra, Prāgjyotiṣa Tāmraliptaka, Malada (Malajada), Mallavartaka, Suhmya, Brahmottara, etc. The mountains of this region are Brihadgriha, Lohitagiri, Cakora, Dardura, Nepāla and Kāmarūpa, with the rivers Soṇa, Lauhitya Gaṅgā, Karatoyā, and Kapiśa flowing through that country. Its commercial products are *lavali, grantaparṇika, agru, drākṣā, kastūrī,* etc.

Physical Geography. Mountains: Bṛihadgiri, according to Dalal[257] might represent the mount Everest which is not certain. Lohitagiri, as the name suggests, is probably the source of the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. Cakora in Eastern India may be identified with Cunār, and it is noticed in the *Vāyu Purāṇa.*[258] Dardura is mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā.*[259] Kālidāsa places both

254. *Raghu,* IV, p. 146.
255. P. 364.
256. *Viddh.* III, p. 79.
257. *Kāv.,* p. 299.
258. 473.
259. 14. 13.

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Malaya and Dardura in close proximity in the south-most part of India near Tāmraparṇī, but Rājaśekhara places it in Eastern India. Ḍalal identifies[260] it with the Deogarh peak in the eastern part of the Vindhyas. Nepāla may be identified with that portion of the Himālayas that lies to the north of that country.[261] Kāmarūpa represents the name of the people as well as the mountain in that region.

Rivers. Śoṇa is evidently the modern Śon which joins the Ganges a little to the east of Patna. Lauhitya is the present Brahmaputra of ancient fame.[262] As Gaṅgā is mentioned among the rivers of Uttarāpatha, this name suggests the lower course of the river. Karatoyā is that sacred river which flows through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Bogra. It formed the boundary, according to *Mahābhārata*,[263] between the kingdom of Bengal and Kāmarūpa. Kapiśā may be identified with the modern Suvarṇarekhā in Singbhūmi and Orissa.[264]

Janapadas. Aṅga. It represents the country lying between Bhāgalpur and Monghyr with its capital Campāpurī. The boundaries of this Janapada varied in different periods. Rājaśekhara does not mention Vaṅga along with it.

Kalinga. As a Viṣaya it is mentoned in the *Mahābhārata*.[265] The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Kaliṅganagara.[266] Rājaśekhara includes it both in the eastern and southern divisions of Bhāratavarṣa.[267]

Kosala. As this Kosala is located to the east of Vārāṇasi, it naturally represents Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Dalal suggests[268] that the kingdom Oudh had two divisions: Uttara Kosala, and Kosala with Ayodhyā and Kuśāvati as their respective capitals. It is wrong, as this Kosala lay to the east and not to the west of Vārāṇasi. It

260. Kā., p. 284.
261. Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. I, p. 222.
262. *Mbh.* 2. 374; *Raghu.* 4. 81; *Hari.* 12831; *B. S.* 14. 6. 16.
263. 2. 374.
264. *Raghu.* 16. 304.
265. 1. 4220.
266. 2; 17116.
267. *Kāv.*, pp. 9, 39.
268. *Kāv.* p. 283.

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should, however, be identified with the Kosala mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, and may be identified with the present Mahākosala.

Tosala. Dalal identifies[269] it with Dakṣiṇa Kosala which is wrong. Tosali is mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions, and a record[270] found at Paṭiakalla (Cuttack Distt.) mentions Mahārāja Śivarāja who issued the plate from his residence at Vorttanoka in the south Tosali country. It represents the site near Dhauli in Orisa, and has nothing to do with Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.

Utkala. As suggested by Sylvain Levi,[271] Utkala comprises the portion to the south of Chota Nagpur, the tributary states to the north of Orissa, and the Orissa, and the district of Balasore. The people of Utkala are mentioned in inscriptions.[272]

Magadha. This Janapada played an important role in the history of northern India for a long time. It comprised the country to the south of the Ganges, corresponding to modern south Bihar with Pāṭaliputra a its capital. There are scores of references to this country in Indian literature.[273] Rājaśekhara mentions[274] the compound Odra-Māgadhi—suggesting the custom of Orissa and Magadha.

Mudgara. It represents that region centring round the modern Monghyr to the north of Aṅga. The Jodhpur inscription[275] of Bāuka mentions his father Kakka conquering the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri.

Videha. It is evidently modern Tirhut comprising the Darbhanga district of north Bihar.

269. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
270. *E.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 287.
271. *J.A.*, 1923, II. p. 19.
272. *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 161; *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 27 ff.
273. *Mbh.* 8. 2105; *Hari.* 12831; *Mārk.* p. 57.
274. *Kāv.*, p. 81.
275. *E.I.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 87 ff.

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Nepāḷa. Rājaśekhara mentions it in the list of the mountains and the countries to the east of Vārāṇasi. It is noticed in ancient literature,[276] and in inscriptions.[277]

Puṇḍra. Puṇḍravardhana is noticed in several records[278] and also in Indian literature.[279] It comprised the modern districts of Malda and Dinajpur in East Bengal.

Prāgjyotiṣa. According to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇī,*[280] it is another name of Kāmarūpa. Rājaśekhara mentions Kāmarūpa as one of the mountains of this region and not as a Janapada. Prāgjyotiṣa figures prominently in ancient Indian literature.[281] It may be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with north Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar.[282]

Tāmraliptaka. This is also a very old Janapada mentioned in literature.[283] The name is preserved in the modern Tāmluk on the western bank of the Rūpanārāyaṇa river in the Midnapur district of West Bengal.

Malada. This Janapada is noticed in the *Mahābhārata* and other works.[284] It must be identified with the district of Shahabad in Bihar.

Mallavartaka. As Rājaśekhara mentions in the eastern division of India it cannot be identified with the Malloi of the Greek writers, but it misrepresent the Mallavartaka, the Maleus of the Greek writings,[285] in the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum of Bihar. It is also noticed in the Natya.[286]

Suhma. According to Kālidāsa, the country of Suhma was situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal near Vaṅga on the

276. Varāhapurāṇa, Chap. 3.
277. *C.I.I.,* Vol. III p. 1 ff.
278. *E.I.,* Vol. XIV, p. 130ff.
279. *Mbh.* I. 4221; *Natya.* xiii. 45.
280. 956.
281. *Mḥ.* 3, 1887; *Mārk.* p. 57. 44; *Rajt.* 4.171; *B.S.* L4. 6.16.
282. *I.C.,* Vol. III, p. 732.
283. *Mbh.* 7. 2436; *Hari.* 12838; *B.S.,* 14.7; *Natya.* xiii. 47.
284. 2. 1082; *Natya.* xiii. 46; *Vāyu,*
285. McCrindle: *Megasthenes,* p. 163.
286. xiii; 46.

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Gangetic delta. In the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[287] Suhma is placed between Vaṅga and Kaliṅga, and it is mentioned as an independent country in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[288]

Brahmottara. Dalal suggests[289] that it represents the northern portion of the Brahmā country or the upper Burma. It is also noticed in the Nāṭyaśāstra.[290]

Cities. It is nothing unusual if we do not find reference to cities in the works of Rājaśekhara. He refers only to Campā, the ancient capital of Aṅga. There is no reference to Pāṭalīputra or Nālandā—the two important places.

Commercial Products. According to the poet, the important products of this region are—*lavali* (*Averhoa Acida*), *grantiparnam*—a king of fragrant plant, *aguru* (fragrant aloe), *drāṣa* (grape vine) and kastūri (musk). It would thus appear that Rajaśekhara furnishes a mine of information about India. At that time it was quite natural for him to have a comprehensive view of India as a whole. The *data* presented by him clearly justify his claim as the author of the *Bhuvanagoṣa.* As there is no reference to Sindh and Sauvira, the omission might be due to his sentiments, and this portion of India, then occupied by the Mohammadans, was probably considered as lost. There might not have much originality, but one can hardly question the prolixity of the data presented by him.

287. *Law: Geog. Dict.*, p. 261.
288. *Chap.* 114.
289. *Kāv.* p. 299.
290. XII. 46.

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Culture-Contacts in South India

BY

T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.

(*Continued from* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 652)

When we take our early glimpse of the people of the south in the Saṅgam period, we note that they never seem to have been bothered with the problem of a future existence, or the idea of the misery of life. These ideas came with the northern cults like Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, and later became widely prevalent.[174] The *Silappadhikāram* explains the unhappy death of Kōvalan as a result of karma done in a previous birth.[175] The *Maṇimekhalai* also deals with the problems of existence and misery. By the close of the saṅgam period, the old feeling that life must be enjoyed becomes changed. We see this change illustrated in a dedication by the wife of a general of the Pallava king, Aparājita, who gave a donation to a temple because 'of the vanity of fortune, youth and wealth in order to cross the troubled sea of this worldly existence'.[176]

There are some festivals which are celebrated both in the North and in the South. The most important of these is Makara-Saṅkaranti which is called Poṅgal in the Tamil country and Gobbi Paṇḍuga in the Telugu land. During this festival, there is a rush of pilgrims to Prayāga (Allahabad), for a bath of purification in the sacred rivers. In the south, the most important part of the festival

174. Jainism accentuated the tendency to self-mortification. Suicide by slow starvation (Sallekhana) is greatly praised and inscriptions at Śrāvana-belgōḷa refer to those who carried out this vow. *Epigraphica Carnatica* II, S.B. 1, 2 & 29). A Hindu variant is Jalasamādhi (voluntary drowning in a holy river). As mentioned already, the Western Cālukya king, Śōmeśvara, practised this. (Bhāndārkar, *Peeps into the Early History of the Deccan*, p. 84).

175. Canto XXIII—11. 152-69. The *Paripāḍal* shows great acquaintance with the *upaniṣads*.

176. *Epigraphica Indica* IV, p. 30.

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is the boiling of the new rice at an auspicious time.[177] So, it seems to show traces of a primitive harvest festival. Dīpāvali (Divali as it is called in the North) is more a festival of illumination by lights in the north. Considering the name of the festival, this should be really its chief characteristic. But, it seems to have lost this characteristic in the south. Judging from the description given by Nicolo dei Conti and Paes of the New Year festival of Vijayaṇagar which fell in October, Dr. Mahaliṅgam thinks that this new year festival must be the Dīpāvali.[178] Conti says distinctly that all bathed and wore new clothes. So, even by the Vijayanagar period, this seems to have become the chief characteristic of Dīpāvali in the south. It has been suggested that the Dīpāvali must have been originally a non-Āryan festival, associated with the Yakṣas, presumably a non-Āryan people. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* refers to Dīpāvali as Yakṣa-rātri. It may be noted that Kubera, the god of wealth, is worshipped on that day in some places. Kubera, master of the Yakṣas, is regarded in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa as the lord of robbers and evil-doers and this non-Āryan deity must have been later adopted into the Hindu pantheon. A spring festival was commmon throughout India. The Kadamba inscriptions refer to this festival as Caitra. This festival also prevailed in Vijayanagar. Conti noted that during this festival all persons were sprinkled with saffron water. This, it may be noted, is even now the chief characteristic of the Hōli festival of the north which is the survival of the spring festival there. Relics of the spring festival continue in the Kāman Paṇḍigai of the Tamil land.[179] The Navarātri festival called Daśara in the north is

177. On one day of the festival, the sun is worshipped, and the next day. cattle are adorned and adored.

178. *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, CH. IX, Sec. 8, p. 341. The following reference to oil-bath on this occasion may be noted:

Taile lakṣmīrjale gaṅgā
Dīpāvalyāh caturdaśīm
Prātah snānam hiyaḥ kuryāt
Yamalōkam na paśyati. (*Skanda Purāṇa*, IX.32)

179. The Ārdhrā festival is common throughout South India, where, in many parts, it is associated with the worship of Śiva in the form of Naṭarāja. For a description of the Tiruvātirai ritual of Malabār, the curious reader may refer to the article of L. K. Balaratnam in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XXXIII, pp. 201-3. The Śivarātri forms an important festival both in the north and the south.

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throughout India a festival chiefly in honour of Durga.[180] The Mahánavami festival celebrated by the court of Vijayanagar which lasted for nine days is described by Paes.[181] Judging from the description, it seems to be the same as Navarātri. Besides these common festivals, there were festivals peculiar to various localities of India. The New Year festivals of the Tamils and the Telugus, for example, are on different days. There is no festival in other parts of India corresponding to the Patineṭṭámperukku which is celebrated by the people of the Tanjore and Tirucirāppalli districts to welcome the coming of the freshes in the Káverī on the 18th of the Tamil month Āḍi. In the same way, there were old festivals which have now disappeared. Formerly, unmarried girls in the Tamil country performed a ceremonial worship to Kāma (the god of love), to get good husbands. This Káman Nōnbu is mentioned in the *Jīvakacintāmani*. A similar vow was the Pāvai Nōnbu which was celebrated in the Tamil month of Mārgaḻi and which is described in detail in the *Tiruppāvai* of the Vaiṣṇava devotee, Āṇḍaḻ.[182]

Before leaving this subject of religion, we must consider the important part played by the temple in South Indian culture. It expresses the perfect synthesis of the ideas of the north and the south. It houses deities many of whom are northern; but, it is built according to southern ideas and the ritual of worship is a blend of both northern and southern ideas. Hinduism, which is the assimilated product of Āryan and Drāvīḍian ideas and usages, is best symbolised in the temple. Such has been its influence that the followers of other religions in South India like the Catholic Chris-

180. The elaborateness of the celebration of the Durgā-pūja in Bengal is understandable, considering that Śakti worship is popular in Bengal. Some devotees observe partial fasting for nine days. On the ninth day, animal sacrifices are performed. In the Indian states, the Daśara celebrations include the worship of weapons of war. Craftsmen, similarly, perform Āyudha-pūja (worship of tools and implements used by them).

181. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*. pp. 269-74.

182. It may be mentioned in this connection that many Vratas recommended in the latest *purāṇas* had not become prevalent even in the Gupta period. But, even then, the Ratha-saptami had become an auspicious occasion. Grants were made often on such holy days, e.g., Dandidurga's grant (Samangad Plates, *Indian Antiquary*, XI, p. 111). The *Brihaspati Smṛiti* urges the observance of Ekādaśi.

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tians as at St. Thomas Mount or Muslims as at Nagore have taken over some of the spectacular usages connected with temple worship. In the past, the temple was the centre of the life of the community. It was a social agency of great importance on the occasions of festivals when crowds gathered from different parts. It catered to popular education by being the centre where instruction in religion and other subjects was given and popular discourses were delivered. In the Raṅga Maṇḍapa attached to the temple, dancing was practised and dramas staged. The kings were often crowned in it and celebrated Tulābhāras and other ceremonies here. Contending kings spared the temples and honoured them in the course of their invasions. The temple formed the place where the local people held meetings to discuss common matters. It maintained hospitals and colleges.[183] It occupied an important place in the economic life of the community.[184] Prof. Nīlakanta Śāstri observes truly 'As landholder, employer and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital and theatre, in short, as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the arts of civilised existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of Dharma, the Medieval Indian Temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind.'[185] It became so essential in the life of the community that it spread to the colonies set up by them in lands outside India.

When we turn to matters of government, we find the same blend of Northern and Southern ideas. The South Indian kings are connected by pedigrees with old *Purāṇic* dynasties. Thus, the

183. A record of 1067 mentions a college, hostel and hospital attached to the temple at Tirumukkūḍal, Chingleput District (*Epigraphica Indica*, XXXI, p. 220 ff.). The college taught the Vedas (*Ṛig* and *Yajus*) and *Vyākarana*. Another record of 1493 refers to an Arōgyasālai maintained by the temple at Śrīraṅgam (*ibid.*, XXIV, p. 90).

184. 'The temple of the village was a substantial economic institution to which the villagers always turned in times of famines or any sort of economic depression.'—Dr. Mīnākshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Ch. X. p. 138. The great economic importance of the temple is also described by Dr. Appādurai—*Economic Conditions in South India*, Vol. I, Ch. 2, Sec. 6. See also Dr. K. K. Pillay (*Suchindram Temple*, 1953, Ch. 9) for the important place held by the temple in society.

185. *The Cōḷas*, 2nd ed., p. 654.

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Cōḷas were connected to the solar race, and Śibi, the *Purāṇic* king, was reckoned one of their ancestors.[186] The later kings have titles in Samskṛit as well as the local languages. The Pāṇḍyan king, Nedūnjaḍayan, is also called by the Samskṛit names of Parāntaka, Vinaya Viśrita, Manūpama, Marditavīra, Kripālaya and Paṇḍitavatsala and Tamil epithets like Tennavānavan and Punappūḻiyan. The Pallava king, Mahendravarman, is styled Gunabhara, Lalitāṅkuśa and Śatrumalla. He has also got Tamil epithets like Cittirakkārappuli and Telugu epithets like Veṇṭulavittu. Rājarāja the Great is Nigarili-Cōla as well as Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (thirteenth century) has a number of surnames in his earlier inscriptions, all beginning with the title Samastajagatādhāra. The Muttaraiya chief, Ilangōvaḍiyariyan, is also Māra Parameśvara. Singhana Yādava assumed several titles like Dvāravatīpuravaradeśvara, Prithvīvallabha, Viṣṇavamśōdbhava, Śrīkaranādhipa, etc. Bhillama V Yādava assumed the titles of Samasthabhuvanaśraya and Paramabhaṭṭāraka. Parāntaka Cōḻa is also Vīranārāyaṇa. Rājarāja Cōḻa is Rājāśraya, as well as Jayankoṇḍān and Mummuḍicōḻa. As in other parts of India, kings had their own flags (Dhvaja) and seals (Lāncana). These are only instances to show the general characteristics in all South Indian dynasties. But, we must note that usages which prevailed prior to the Āryan influence continued in the Tamiḻ kingdoms in some respects. One of the most curious of these is the elaborate use of leaves and flowers as political symbols. The Pāṇḍyan king wore a wreath of margosa (Vembu), the Cōḻa king, one of Ātti and the Cera, one of palmyra (Panai). It seems also to have been a custom to rear a tree on the boundary of the state and guard it. If the enemy cut off this 'Kāval-maram', it was felt to be a serious disgrace.[187] The *Puṟapporuḷveṇbamālai*, a work perhaps of the seventh century A.D., records old traditions about the use of different kinds of flowers to represent the different stages in military operations. Thus, cattle-raiding which always began the war was done by soldiers wearing the Vetci flower. The invading force is distinguished by its wearing

186. The Yādavas claimed descent from the Moon, though some records claim it from Yadu. Hemādri gives a long, mythical account of their origin. The records of the Eastern Cāḻukyas trace their descent to the Moon. The Western Gaṅgas traced their descent to Ikṣvāku.

187. References to such trees in *Puṟam*, 23, 36 and 57.

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the Vānji flower. A fort is defended by men who wear the Nocci flower. The conqueror adorns himself with the Vāhai. It is perhaps possible to see in all this traces of an older totemism which conceivably lost its original meaning in course of time.

The laws of war generally resemble the ethics of Dharma-Yuddha formulated in the north. Non-combatants like Brāhmanās, women, persons with diseases and old men were warned away from places of danger before warlike operations began. There were also other classes of people who were not to be molested by soldiers, as we can see from the reference in the *Silappadhikāram* to soldiers casting off their arms and escaping disguised as ascetics, musicians and dancers.[188] Temples were not interfered with. Vikramāditya I, the Cālukyan king who invaded the Pallava territory and occupied Kāñci, repaired the temples in it and built new ones there. The Hoysāla, Sōmeśvara, who conquered the Tamil land up to Tirucirāppaḷḷi, built the front gōpuram at Jambukeśvaram. But, sometimes, as in modern wars, these humane rules seem to be abandoned.[189] Particularly, Cōla warfare seems to diverge from the accepted standards. Karikāla Cōḷa is said to have made the invaded country a desert. Elephants in rut were used to pull down buildings. The Cōḷa invasions of the Western Cālukya territories and of the Pāṇḍya territories later were accompanied by injuries to the civil population like dishonouring of women and mutilating people like slitting off the nose. Ferishta's account of the wars between Vijayanagar and the Bāhmani kingdom shows that warfare was often brutal.[190]

The traditional four-fold division of the army—chariots, elephantry, cavalry and infantry—prevailed in the south as well as in the north at first.[191] By the time of Harṣa, chariots went out of use in North India and, gradually, in South India also. The Vijaya-

188. Canto XXVII, 11, 179 ff. Women, evidently, were not permitted in the camp, according to Tolkāppiyar. But apparently, courtesans were permitted according to him (II. 174).

189. A Yādava inscription of the 11th century refers to the depredations caused by war (*Indian Antiquary*. XII, p. 123). Kalhana's *Rājataraṅgini* has similar references, (e.g., IV, 294).

190. Briggs' Translation, II, pp. 310, 316-19; III, pp. 120-1, 239-43 & 331.

191. The chariot seems to have been derived from the north.

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nagar inscriptions speak only of three divisions. But, in the later Vijayanagar period, artillery was added, thus making the division again four. The use of artillery seems to have been introduced by the Muslims in the fourteenth century. Bommi Reḍḍy built the fort of Vellore (begun in 1274 and completed in 1281) using an architect from North India. Early warfare as illustrated in saṇgam literature began with cattle-lifting. We can compare with this the cattle-lifting described in the Virāṭa Parva of the *Mahābhārata*. The saṇgam literature also shows that the early Tamiḻ people were more warlike than the people of the north. Old customs referred to in the Tamiḻ poems include the razing of forts, ploughing their sites with donkeys, sowing there prickly plants or seeds of castor and cotton and, feasting in the battlefields amidst the dead. Consultation of auguries before the kings started for the war was usual.[192] Bards accompanied the king to the battle and inspired the soldiers with martial songs. There arose later plenty of war-lyrics composed by them. A typical instance is a Paraṇi which celebrated the hero who had slain at least a thousand elephants in battle. Warriors, not dying in the field of battle, would be placed on kuśa grass when they are about to die, and cut with a sword to simulate death in war.[193] The goddess of war, Koṟṟavai, was worshipped before the campaign opened. The victorious warrior received a mark of honour in the Vīra-kaḻal. A characteristic usage was the planting of stones on the graves of warriors. The image of the dead warrior was carved on it with his name and a description of his exploits. This custom seems to be old, as the *Tolkāppiyam* refers to this. It prevailed throughout South India down to period of Vijayanagar. Sometimes, the heroes in whose honour these Vīrakkals were planted became the object of veneration, and small shrines were built over their graves. We also find that, unlike North India, there was no specialised caste like that of the Kṣatriyas devoted to fighting alone. Very often, an army was composed of different classes and

192. *Tolkāppiyam-Puṟattinaiyiyal*, 36. Each chief had his particular war drum.

193. *Maṇimekhalai*, XXIII, 11. 10-15. A pleasing episode mentioned by Nakkīrar about Pāṇḍya Neḍuñceliyan II is how, despite rains and chill, he used to visit at midnight all the wounded soldiers in the camp.

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different tribes. An inscription of Rājarāja Cōḷa mentions a Brāhmanā military official.[194]

It would, however, be wrong to conclude that the people of South India were always immersed in unceasing warfare. The bards who wielded great influence often averted wars. Poets like Kapilar arbitrated amongst contending kings. Kōvur Kiḷār tried to settle a quarrel between two Cōḷa princes—Neduṅkiḷḷi and Nalaṅkiḷḷi.[195] Diplomacy was well practised. The use of envoys (dūtas) was quite after northern usage.

Some light is thrown on early government in South India by the Kuṛaḷ. The author of the Kuraḷ bears the title Vaḷḷuvar, possibly a word meaning minister or herald. His caste is unknown. There is keen discussion about his religion. But, the best conclusion regarding this is that of Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar that, whatever his personal religion, he did not wish to give his work a sectarian character.[196] He primarily intended to be a moralist rather than a religious teacher. Prof. Sesha Iyengār's statement that Vaḷḷuvar was 'the oldest exponent of Drāviḍian religion and philosophy' seems to be exaggerated.[197] There is again controversy regarding his debt to Samskṛit works. Mr. Sethu Piḷḷai contends that the ideas of the *Kuṛaḷ* are different from those of the Samskṛit writers and that his concept of Muppāl is purely a Tamiḷ one.[198] But, the parallelism between the *Kuṛaḷ* and Samskṛit works is too close to be merely fortuitous. Its Muppāl (Aṛam, Poruḷ and Kāmam) corresponds closely to the Samskṛit trivagra (Dharma, Artha and Kāma). Several features of the complex governmental machinery found in the *Kuṛaḷ* resemble the administrative system projected in the *Artha Śāstra*, just as the moral maxims in it are similar to those contained in the *Dhammapada*. Dr. S. Kṛishnaswami Aiyengar shows how Tiruvaḷḷuvar depended on the *Artha Śāstra* in several respects.[199] Both assert that the king must always be

194. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V, Introduction, p. 13. Compare the references to Brāhmaṇa generals in the Kalas inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. Govinda IV (*Epigraphica Indica*, XIII, p. 189).
195. *Puṛam*, 45.
196. *Studies in Tamil Literature*, Ch. 4, p. 138.
197. *Drāviḍian India*, p. 203.
198. Studies in Tirukkuraḷ (particularly p. 163 ff.).
199. *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, Lecture, 2.

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accessible to his people.[200] Both the *Kuṛaḷ* and the *Artha Śāstra* declare that the king should seek the happiness of his subjects.[201] Ministers ought to be chosen after subjecting them to temptations to see whether they are able to withstand them. Chapter 51 of the *Kuṛaḷ* which deals with the selection of ministers shows the great debt of the work to the *Artha Śāstra*. Both works speak about the use of spies to watch over the conduct of the officials of the state. The seven elements of sovereignty (saptānga) mentioned in the *Artha Śāstra* are also listed in the *Kuṛaḷ*, though the *Kuṛaḷ* does not include the king as one of the elements and assigns to him a separate position. A large part of the *Kuṛaḷ* deals with Poruḷ (a word corresponding to artha). The discussion of the sources of the revenue of the state in the *Kuṛaḷ* is meagre. It may be noted however that, unlike the *Artha Śāstra*, the *Kuṛaḷ* condemns benevolence (the praṇaya of the *Artha Śāstra*).[202] Though condemned by the *Kuṛaḷ*, this seems to have been exacted by several South Indian kings. Vijayanagar records refer to this exaction under the name of kaṭṭāyam in the Tamiḻ areas[203] and 'beḍige' in the Kannaḍa areas.[204] Unlike the *Artha Śāstra*, the *Kuṛaḷ* does not go into the details of administration. This is understandable, as the *Kuṛaḷ* seems to be written only for the formulation of general principles. The chief difference between it and the *Artha Śāstra* is the profound moral tone which is the basis of the *Kuṛaḷ*. The *Kuṛaḷ* is also acquainted with Manu and Vātsyayana.

But, the characteristic popular unit of South Indian administration was the village community.[205] It must have had an early origin, the village elders meeting in open air or under a tree. In the saṅgam period, this seems to have been known as manṛam and it becomes very important later. We may note that this insti-

200. That Aśōka followed this precept is clear from his Rock Edict VI (Girnar).

201. The close parallelism with the *Arthaśāstra* is also illustrated in Ramachandra Dikshitar's *Studies in Tamil Literature*, pp. 150-86.

202. The *Kural*, No. 552.

203. *Epigraphica Indica*, XVIII, p. 142.

204. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, V—Mj. 52.

205. It has been pointed out that villages in the Kuṛiñci area are usually, called Kuṛici; those in the Neydal, Pākkam; those in the Mullai, Pāḍi or Paṭṭi; and those in Marudam, Ūr.

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tution never became so important in North India, as it became in the south. The Pallava central government which was very much like that proposed in the *Artha Śāstra* seems to have been engrafted on a basis of self-governing village communities which had become important in the south. These village assemblies reached their highest development under the Cōḷas. This kind of assembly declined in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region in the twelfth century; but, it continued in the Cōḷamaṇḍalam longer. It existed in the Pāṇḍyan and Cera territories. The Masūlipatām plates of Bhīma, the Eastern Cālukya king,[206] show its existence in the Āndhra area. An inscription of Devarāya II of Vijayanagar (1429)[207] deals with the proceedings of a similar assembly. It continues to linger down to the days of Venkatapati[208] of the Aravīḍu dynasty. Under the Cōḷas, there seem to have existed also bigger assemblies of the people of a district and of a province.[209] But, details of their constitution and working are unknown.

The Pallava central government was northern and much of it continued under the Cōḷas. The Cālukyan empire was divided into Rāṣṭras under Viceroys and Viṣayas under Governors. But what we note is that the terminology which is Samskṛit in the beginning becomes vernacularised in course of time. In the Mayīḍavōlu grant of Śivaskandavarman,[210] the names of officials are all foreign to South India. The Hirahaḍagalḷi plates[211] mention, for instance, the rahasyādhikṛita who is believed to be a kind of private secretary. The Kasākuḍi plates[212] mention a group of officers called Vāyilkeḷpar which term Hultzch translates as secretaries. It is possible that these might have developed into the Tiruvāykkeḷvi of the Cōḷas. By the Vijayanagar period, the secretary is called

206. *Epigraphic Report* (Madras), 1914, p. 84. For village councils under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, Ch. 10.

207. *Epigraphic Report* (Madras), 1915, pp. 106-108.

208. Local assemblies seem to have played an important part in the Pudukkōṭṭai region in the 15th and 16th centuries (*Pudukkōṭṭah State Inscriptions*, 799, 922 and 944).

209. Nīlakanta Śāstri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, p. 79. and *The Cōḷas*, 2nd ed. p. 503.

210. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 84.

211. *Ibid.*, Vol. I; 2.

212. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 342.

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rāyasam. From what Nuniz says, his duty seems to resemble that of the tiruvāykkeḻvi of the Cola times. Officials called by the Samskṛit term Adhkāris are found in the Pallava period, continued in the Cōḻa period and are heard of also under Vijayanagar.[213] The official designated by the Tamiḻ term Ōlaināyakam began in the Cōḻa period and existed in the Pāṇḍyan territory. There is a term in the Pallava records 'Viḍēl Viḍugu'. The latter half of this term seems to be the Telugu-Kannaḍa word 'Piḍugu'. As Dr. Minakshi concludes[214] the precise meaning of this term has not been explained so far satisfactorily. The name of divisions like Vaḻanaḍu and Kūṟṟam are purely Tamiḻ, and continue even down to the Vijayanagar period. The committee of the village assembly which is called vāriyam is also perhaps Tamiḻ. Dr. Minakshi tries to derive this from the Samskṛit root vri.[215] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri would derive it from the Samskṛit word vārya,[216] but he admits that it may be a Tamil word. Many of the taxes have pure Tamiḻ names, for example the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II refer to taxes like tirumugakkānam[217] (perhaps a fee for a royal letter). Pāṇḍyan records refer to taṭṭolipāṭṭam (tax paid by goldsmiths) and ulku (customs duties). We hear in the Cōḻa records of angādipāṭṭam (tax on bazaars) and a tax called kārtikaippaccai. The word 'nellāyam' which seems to refer to the tax paid in grain continued from the Cōḻa period to the Vijayanagar period. In the Vijayanagar period we hear of taxes like taṟikkaḍamai (tax on looms). A tax on marriages (kallāṇakkāṇikkai) which is found under the Pallavas and the Cōḻas continued under other names in the Vijayanagar period. The terms of units of measurements also showed the same characteristics. The terms kalam and veli which we find under the Cōḻas are found also under Vijayanagar and

213. The Gaṅgas of Talakād and the Hoysālas had an officer called Mahāsāmantādhipati who exercised control over feudatory chiefs (*Epigraphica Carnatica*, VII Sk. 131). Officers with Kannaḍa titles like Heggade were in charge of districts.

214. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, Ch. III, p. 45. The author has arranged all epigraphical and literary references to this term in Note E to that chapter (pp. 46-8). A possible meaning is an order despatched with the "victorious bull-mark".

215. *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, p. 127.

216. *The Cōḻas*, 2nd ed., p. 494.

217. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 530-1.

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indeed continue down to our times. With regard to other South Indian states, we find the same[218] tendency. The term 'mahātalavara' found in Ikṣvāku records includes two words and Dr. Vogel considers that the second word is Drāviḍian. The word 'talavara' seems to be the origin of the term talayāri which is applied to a menial servant of the village in Telugu, Tamiḻ and Kannaḍa areas. The Kadamba records, while calling the viceroys by the Samskṛit term Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, call the officer in charge of units of districts as the Manneya. The Kadamba records also have their own Kannaḍa terms like hejjuṇka (customs duties), kamma (unit of land measurement) and mana (measure for oil) etc. In the Vijayanagar period in the Kannaḍa areas the divisions of the kingdom are called venthe, kampana etc. A strange mixture of terminology resulting from the continuance of old terms and the impact of Mahratta and Muslim influences is seen under the Nāyaks in the terms senāpati, dalavōy, rāyasam, karnam etc.

Terms relating to the coins are also largely South Indian.[219] The word 'pon' seems at first to have meant any metal and a relic of this meaning survives in the Kannada word 'kalbonnu' that is black pon or iron. These indigenous terms show that coinage in South India had an independent existence. The term kaḻañju is very old. The *Silappadhikāram* refers to it. It seems to have been originally uncoined gold. The influence of the north is seen in the term kāsu[220] which seems to be derived from the northern term 'kārṣāpaṇa'. The Cōḻa Rājarāja I was the first to adopt on the obverse of the coins the device of a standing figure. This device was found in Ceylon and in the Pāṇḍyan country and seems to have been borrowed from 'the standing king' type of the Gupta coins.

218. The Veḷvikuḍi Grant of Varaguṇa I refers to officers of the central government connected with the grant of land and shows striking resemblance to Pallava charters.

219. Loventhell (*Coins of Tinnevelly*) suggests that the use of the die must have been introduced from North India along with Buddhism. Still, the devices were crude and indistinct and legends either absent or too short. It is only in historical times that the principal coinage came to be in gold.,

220. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri (Cōḻas, 2nd ed. p. 617) opines that the Kāsu was derived ultimately from Ceylon through the Pāṇḍyan land. The Ceylon type had a human figure standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse. From the time of Kulōttuṅga III, the term Kāsu is applied to copper coins also.

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The form of land grants shows the mixture of ideas from the north with indigenous phraseology. The usual form of land grant was to incise it on a copper plate and hand it over to the grantees with the śastraic ritual of libations of water. But the phraseology which is used in the grant includes technical[221] terms like nīrāṇmai and mīvātci. These technical terms are reproduced in their Tamiḻ form[222] even in the Samskṛit grants. These technical terms have been interpreted as rights of tenancy and landlordship respectively. The dānam is confirmed by quotations from the *Smṛits*. Even the Brāhmana Sabhas followed the phraseology of Tamiḻ technical terms.[223]

When we next turn to ṃanners and customs, we find the same tendency for assimilation. Eliminating foreign words and taking only pure Tamil words, we find that the people of the South were already enjoying the benefits of an advanced culture even before Āryan contact. Agriculture was well developed. Industry was also well advanced. Particularly, cotton weaving was at a high level. The yarn was so fine[224] that it looked like smoke. A vast variety of occupations of the people is mentioned[225] in various saṇgam works. Words relating to commerce are also mainly Tamiḻ. The importance attached to it is revealed in the old proverb[226] 'Gather wealth even by voyaging on the billowy sea.' Kappal (ship) and kaḍal (sea) are pure Tamiḻ words. Some derive the Samskṛit

221. Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭila Parāntaka (*Indian Antiquary*, 1893, p. 57). "Brahmadeyamāga kārāṇmaiyum mīvatciyum uḷḷaḍanga sarva parihāramāga nīrōdaṭṭi kuḍukkappaṭṭudu."

222. Samskrit portions in Sinnamannūr Plates (*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part 4, pp. 447-8) "Kāraṇmaimīnātciyutam samastam'".

223. The Rājarāja-Caturvedimaṅgalam made a sale of land to a temple under the formula "Vilaiōlai sei dunīrō daṭṭi kuḍuttōm" (*Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 292 ff). The sale deed (vilaiolai) was written by an official of the village called Kāṇattān.

224. 397-8. Weaving Industry was so important that even a literary work was called a 'Nūl'. The commentator of the *Silappadhikāram* refers to cloth made of rat's hair.

225. E.g., *Maṇimekhalai—Kaccimānagar Pukka Kātai.*

226. "Tirai kaḍalōdiyum diraviyam teḍu".

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word 'Mukta' from the Tamil 'muttu' meaning pearl. The *Artha Śāstra* mentions amongst the articles of trade from South India pearls from the Pāṇḍyan country and cotton fabrics from Madurai. Inland trade was facilitated by good roads. Later on, under the Cōlas, we hear of big trunk roads linking their land with the territories of the Andhras and the Western Cālukyas. Numerous merchant guilds flourished as in North India.

A high culture had developed by the time of the saṇgam literature. When it began and how it grew up we cannot say. Social conditions as seen in the saṇgam literature indicate that contact with the north had developed long before that literature. But, we are able to see also that the blend of Āryan and Drāviḍian customs was accompanied by a persistence in some cases of pre-Āryan customs so that society in ancient South India showed many points of difference from society in other parts of India which were more thoroughly Āryanised. First and foremost, the division of castes is not found. Dr. Slater's suggestion[227] that the caste system was due to Drāviḍian influence is fantastic. The *Tolkāppiyam* refers to four classes—Arasar, Andaṇar, Vaṇikar and Veḷḷāḷar. There is no term like Śūdras. The Veḷḷaḷars, who seem to be the most important class, were divided into cultivating and non-cultivating classes. The latter furnished the generals and ministers, and possibly, sometimes the ruling families. Later on, caste system came into South India. But, the development of the caste system was never the same as in North India. There developed occupational castes, some of whom connected themselves with vaiśyas. Sometimes pedigrees are invented for them. Thus, Kaikkōḷars trace their descent from Vīrabhāhu, one of the nine generals of Subrahmāṇya. The Kammāḷars claimed origin from Viśvakarmā, the architect of the Devas. Some of them obtained the

227. *Drāvīḍian Elements in Indian Culture*. A more plausible theory is that of some recent writers who derive the caste restrictions regarding food and occupation to the totemism of the proto-Australoid who shrank from the magical ill-effect of taking tabooed food and taking up strange crafts. The Aryans engrafted into a system already in existence their ideas of colour and hypergamy. Prof. Hutton (*Caste in India*) classifies the causes leading to the rise of caste as 15, including ideas of totemism, taboo, ancestral worship, ceremonial purity, belief in re-incarnation, craft secrets, colour prejudice and isolation of particular communities.

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right of wearing the sacred thread.[228] An inscription of the Cōḷa Kulōttuṇga III (1118 A.D.) deals with the claims of the Kammāḷars to wear the sacred thread. But, it is noteworthy that while the Kammāḷars obtained the right of wearing the sacred thread, they retained their primitive method of disposing of the dead by burial. The five occupational castes, to call them by their Tamil names—Taṭṭārs (goldsmiths) Kannārs (bronze workers), Taccars (carpenters), Kaltaccars (stone masons) and Kollars (blacksmiths) are found classified as the Pāncālars throughout South India. Outside them were castes like the potters, oil-mongers etc. There is also a varied gradation of

228. The following are entitled to wear the sacred thread: Brāhmaṇas. Vāṇiyars, Cheṭṭis, Seṇiyars, Saurāṣṭras, Kammāḷars, Vaḷḷuvars, Vanniars, Kōmaṭis and Cakkiliyars, Saurāṣṭras and Sāttāṇiyars claim to be Brāhmaṇas.

The multiplicity of caste appellations used in one caste is striking; as this instance from the Tamil area illustrates:—

Cheṭṭis	*Rao*	*Pillai*	*Mudaliyar*	*Naidu*
Pattaṇavar	Brāhmaṇas	Idaiyar	Veḷḷāḷar	Kammavār
Kuṟavar	Gavarai	Sāṇar	Isaivāṇiyar	Gavarai
Kōmaṭi	Tayyalkārar	Vañniar	Ambaṭṭar	Veḷaṃar
Vāṇiyar		Kuyavar	Paṇdāram	Bhōyi
Beri Cetti		Veḷḷāḷar	Kaikkōḷar	Balija
				Pāḷayakkārar

Maravars, Agambaḍiyars, Kaḷḷars, Ambalakārars, Paḍayātcis, Tevars, Gauṇḍars, etc., have their own respective caste appellations.

The multiplicity of sub-castes is illustrated in the fact that the Tamil Brāhmaṇas are themselves, to mention only the most important, in two great communities—the Ayyars and the Ayyaṅgārs. Within the Ayyar community itself there are numerous divisions like Vaḍamas, Bṛhatcaranam, Aṣṭasahasram, etc. Even these divisions have many sub-sects. The same is true of all the various other castes. This complexity is further increased by the existence of castes who are said to carry a high degree of pollution like the Paṟayars of the Tamil land. It is estimated that there are more than 3,000 castes in the whole of India. Hutton's *Caste in India* has a table in p. 183 showing the proportion of the so-called 'outcastes' in the various provinces and states. This proportion was perhaps at its highest in Travancore (56% of the total Hindu population).

The Smṛitis (e.g. Gautama II, 3, 33) recognise Anulōma marriages. But, Al Birūni shows that they were becoming unpopular. (Al Birūni's *India*, ed. by Sachau, pp. 155-6). The custom perhaps continued in Malabar. Inter-caste meals, once recognised by the *Smṛitis* (Āpastamba, II. 3, 4), fell out of favour.

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castes from the shepherds at the bottom to the highly advanced Veḷḷāḷas. Below the advanced communities were backward communities like the fishermen and toddy-drawers. Below them were the depressed class like the Paraiyas. A similar gradation obtains in Maḷabar. Advanced castes like the Ambalavāsis have various divisions amongst themselves like Nambīśans, Piṣarōṭis, vāriars, etc. Some wear the sacred thread and some not. The Nampūtiri Brāhmanas are expected to have a tuft of hair on the front part of their head[229] and no social objection was taken to their connection with women of lower castes. Depressed castes like the Thīyas and Iḷavars are peculiar to the Keṛala region. The Brāhmaṇas in the Tamiḻ land have customs and sometimes rituals different from those of the north. For instance, a married Brāhmaṇā woman in Tamiḻ region should not wear white cloth. While the caste system in South India attained unfortunately a rigidity which led to social bitterness later on, its development differed markedly from the caste structure of the north.[230] So, 'it is difficult to believe that the scheme of the four original varṇas ever conformed to the facts of South Indian social life.' Slavery also prevailed in ancient and medieval South India. But, this was milder than in other lands. Many slaves were attached to temples. Some voluntarily sold[231] themselves to temples to obtain religious merit. Another peculiar development in South India is the rise of the so-called right hand and left hand castes.[232] How these arose is uncertain. According to

229. For the peculiar customs which differentiated the Nampūtiris from other Brahmaṇas, see the paper by Mr. K. V. Krishna Iyer (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1944, pp. 231-2). Only the eldest sons married in their own caste. The others formed unions with Ambalavāsi and Nāyar women.

230. Nīlakanta Śāstri, *The Cōḻas*. 2nd ed., p. 549.

231. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1925, ii, 18. An inscription of Rājarāja III at Vedāraṇyam records the sale to the temple of five men and five women (*Epigraphic Report for 1905*, p. 46).

232. Right and Left hand factions are referred to in numerous inscriptions. In 1652 (November), the East India Company had to call on the heads of the factions to draw up an agreement settling the differences which led to frequent factious fights. When Seringapatam fell, the English found it divided into two parts—one inhabited by one faction and the other by the other, with fights between them. Such factions were found in the Telugu country also. The division cuts across occupations, for instance, Balijas and Bericettis, though both are trading castes, belong to different factions.

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tradition, when Karikāla Cōḷa summoned industrial classes to meet him, some stood on his right side, and some on his left. Hence, it is said that they got these names. In the time of Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga III, the Iḍaṅkai caste claimed descent[233] from an Agnikula race of North India. It was asserted that they appeared from the agnikuṇḍa of the sage, Kāśyapa, to kill the Asuras and that they came along with the sacrificial sages who were invited to the south by the ruler, Arindama. It is added that they got the name of Iḍaṅkai, because, when the sages were getting down from their chariots, they helped to support the sages on their left side. They claimed to include ninety-eight sub-divisions. Scholars have discussed about the origin of these castes. Dr. Gustav Oppert suggested that the division was that between the landed and the trading classes. But, this theory is not plausible, because the division cuts across all such sections. M. Srinivasa Iyengar[234] traces the origin to military causes. He says that Rājarāja marshalled his armies into two divisions. One division consisted of his old soldiers whom he called his right hand army. The other consisted of new recruits who had formerly often been in the service of his enemies and became thus the left hand group of the army. But, Dr. Barnett supposes that the division must have existed before Rājarāja[235] and that he only made use of it to classify his forces. Dr. Saletore[236] would ascribe the division to differences in the details of social etiquette and privileges and this view seems possible. This division came to prevail also in the Kannaḍa and Telugu areas,[237] but not to an important degree in the Malayāḷam area.

The state long continued to possess the right of regulating caste usages. In the Vijayanagar period, the state had to settle frequent quarrels between the right and left hand castes. Regulation extended to all details as seen in the instance of 1705 when

The same is the case with the Seṇiyars and Kaikōḷars, though both are weavers. Paraiyars and Paḷḷars are both labourers, but belong to different factions. In Cakkiliars, women are right hand and men left hand.

233. *Epigraphic Report.* (Madras), 1913, ii, 39.
234. *Tamil Studies,* pp. 73, 92 & 108.
235. *Epigraphica Indica,* XV. p. 81.
236. *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, p. 65.
237. A Hoysāla record of A.D. 1206 shows that the son may belong to a hand caste different to that of his father *Epigraphica Carnatica,* V, p. 237.

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Queen Maṅgammāḷ authorised the Saurāṣṭras to follow the Upanayana ritual of the Brāhmaṇa caste, after consulting paṇdits, and this permission was embodied[238] in a palm leaf grant.

Ancient South Indian society shows that women held a high place in it. It is possible that originally this society was matriarchal. In the Drāviḍian languages, the name of the father-in-law and the maternal uncle is the same. Trace of this old organisation survived in the Maṛumakkaṭāyam system in Keraḷa which was applied even to the royal families of Travancore and Cochin. Prof. Sōmasundara Bhārati supposes that this prevailed even amongst the ancient Cera dynasty of the saṇgam age.[239] But, when we come to the period of the saṇgam, matriarchy seems to have disappeared. The Āryan society was patriarchal—a characteristic of which is illustrated in the strong desire for a son to perform the funeral rites of his parents and carry on the family. This preference for a son is seen already in the *Rig Veda*. It is also illustrated in the ritual of Pumsavana which is performed specifically for the birth of a male issue. It is an attempt to turn the foetus into a male by a kind of primitive magic. A few drops of milk and of sundry plants are poured into the woman's right nostril with a prayer that a son be produced by her. This patriarchal organisation spread throughout India. It is a matter of speculation whether the use of metronymic nomenclatures by the Sātavāhanas (for instance Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puluṁayi), or the Ikṣvākus (e.g. Matharīputra Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta) indicates relic of the olden custom.

In course of time, this patriarchal system affected the position of women. Women held a high position in the *Vedic* period, and Pāṇini defines 'Patnī' as the wife who is associated with the husband in performing rituals. But, by the period of the *Smṛitis*, women had lost the right to perform *Vedic* sacrifices and to own

238. *Madras Gazetteer*, p. 111.

239. Positive evidence regarding this assertion is uncertain, as it is based on ambiguous and cryptic passages found in the colophons to the *Padiṛṛuppattu*. *Marumakkatāyam* literally means descent through sister's children. The family (tarawād) consists of the descendants of a common ancestress. A man's heirs are the children of his sister.

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wealth in their own right. Manu[240] exalts the authority of the husband. Though, in a general sense, we can say that South India shared also the tendency for the downward movement of the status of women, yet, there were features in the south which favourably contrast the position from that of the north. It has been pointed out that the worship of the great mother-goddess is invariably accompanied by mother right. The Tell-el-Amarna letters reveal the influence of Queen Tiy of Egypt, wife of Anenhotep III, in foreign policy. She was joint ruler with him. The ancient Sumerians allowed women to hold properties in their own right. Dungi II, an early Sumerian king, appointed two of his daughters to rule the conquered cities in Syria and Elam. Queen Sammu-rammat, who is believed to be the original of the legendary Semiramis, is referred to on equal terms with her husband[241] in Assyrian inscriptions. We have similar examples in South India. In the Āndhra empire, if the heir was a minor, the mother ruled the state. For instance, Queen Bālaśrī[242] ruled for her grandson, Pulumāyi. A record of A.D. 1166[243] which speaks of Queen Sovala Devi as a mantri would show that women were considered eligible to hold high appointments. An inscription of the Cōḷa Āditya I[244] refers to five hundred women students in the Jaina monastery at Mādevi-Ārandimaṅgalam. A record of the Cōḷa Rājādhirāja II[245] permits a widow to inherit the lands of her husband. There are several examples of inscriptions showing women having property in their own right. As against the general trend of the injunctions of the *Smṛitis* forbidding women to own any form of wealth, it is refreshing to note that it was a great South Indian compiler of law, Vijñāneśvara (eleventh century) who, in his *Mitākṣara*, gave women legal protection in regard to

240. *Manusmṛti*, V, 154.
241. D. A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 419.
242. The Amarāvati Sculptures show women participating in the proceedings of learned assemblies. Cārudevi of the Pallava royal family grants a charter in her own authority (*Epigraphica Indica*, VIII, 140). Under the Gaṅgas, some women of noble family were reputed for their learning in medicine (*Epigraphica Carnatica*, II, 124-9).
243. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, XI, Dg. 5, p. 25.
244. *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, Part 3, p. 225.
245. *Epigraphic Report* for 1919, pp. 97-8.

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inheritance, and to the possession of strīdhana, and enlarged the conception of strīdhana to include all kinds of property. There were several learned women. A conspicuous instance was Gaṅgā Devi, wife of Kumāra Kampana of Vijayanagar, who composed the Samskṛit poem *Mathurā Vijayam*. Nuniz mentions women clerks. A lady in the court of Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore, Rāmabhadrāmba, wrote the Samskṛit poem, *Raghunāthābhyudayam*.[246] She is said to have known eighteen languages. Purdah,[247] when it became general in North India after the coming of the Muslims, never spread in South India, and even today, South India is singularly free from the seclusion of women in the zenana.[248]

Early Tamil society, possibly due to its having been originally matriarchal, gave much freedom of movement to women. Child marriage did not prevail, and love marriages were quite common. The early form of marriage which was callled kaḷavu was similar to the Gāndharva form of marriage. The different stages of kaḷavu are portrayed in the third part of the *Kuṟaḷ* and more elaborately in *Ahanānūṟu* and *Kalittogai*. The whole of the *Kānalvari* in the *Silappadhikāram* is a description of this form of marriage. The girl and the lover meet secretly unknown to the parents till the maid or the companion of the girl reveals the matter to the parents, after which a public wedding follows. If the girl jilts the lover, he proves his love for her by the terrible custom of maḍal ūrtal. He seats himself nude on a horse made of toothed palmyra stem, besmearing ashes on his body. His

246. Raṅgajamma, a consort of Vijayarāghava Nāyak of Tanjore, is said to have been an extempore composer of poems and was hence honoured by the king with a kanakābhiṣeka.

247. It is possible that, even before the Muslims came, high-born ladies wore a veil over their faces when travelling (*Kālidāsa—Śakuntalā*, Act V). But, as we can judge from the evidence of sculptures and paintings, this custom was not general. Abu Zaid refers to the presence of women at the royal court without the wearing of the veil (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Her Own Historians*, Vol. I, p. 11).

248. The important exception is Malabār. Dr. Hutton describes the strict purdah enforced on Nampūtiri women as "a barrier against the encroachment of a matrilinear environment on the patrilinear system of the Nampūtiri settlers" (*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. 1, Part II, pp. 438-9).

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eyes are fastened on a picture of his beloved drawn by himself. Thus, he rides through the streets, his thighs bleeding from the wounds caused by his strange steed. Many lovers subjected themselves to this proof of their devotion.[249]

But, this form of kaḷavu marriage was liable to abuse. Tagore has pointed out that Kalidasa's *Śakuntalā* was a veiled attack on the Gāndharva form of marriage. Śakuntalā forgot herself in love. Suffering sublimated the love of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā and lifted it to a higher spiritual plane. We can read something of this inner dissatisfaction[250] with the kaḷavu marriage in the *Kalittokai* where the maid, anxious about the reputation of her mistress, warns her within the hearing of her lover, and hints to the lover that he should soon publicly reveal his courtship to the parents of the girl. Even by the age of Tolkāppiyar,[251] the kaḷavu form of marriage is being superseded by the kaṛpu form—the form of marriage arranged with the knowledge of the parents and celebrated with all religious rites. The marriage of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki[252] was done in this style. The old form of marriage survived only amongst some primitive tribes. Thurston[253] notes the relics of this form of marriage amongst some of the forest tribes of Travancore and Coimbatore.

Amongst the eight forms of marriage mentioned in Samskṛit works, there are two—Rākṣasa and Āsura. The Rākṣasa form of marriage is marriage by capture, and was prevalent in all primitive societies. The Āsura form of marriage is marriage of a bride by purchase and also characteristic of early man. Meyer[254] suggests that both these were perhaps non-Āryan. If we assume that the early Āryans called the older inhabitants as Rākṣasas and Āsuras, it is not incredible to suppose that these forms of marriage seen amongst them would have been called by these

249. There is a good description of this peculiar custom in *Kalittokai* 138, 139 and 141. It is noteworthy that child marriage was unknown in the Vedic Period. (*Rig Veda.* Maṇḍalas 10-27).
250. *Kurinji.*
251. Tolkāppiyar mentions the 8 forms of the Āryan marriage.
252. The *Silappadhikāram,* Canto I, 11. 52-3.
253. *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India,* p. 131.
254. *Sexual Life in India,* Vol. II, p. 77.

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names. There are references to marriage by capture in the old Tamil poems. Even at present, the Travancore hill tribe called Mutuvans have a peculiar custom: After the marriage is over, the bridegroom lies in wait for the bride as she comes out of her house and takes her by force to the forest. After spending a few days there, they return. The Āsura form of marriage is not illustrated by any extant literary production of the past. But that relics of this continued for a long time is reasonably clear. An inscription of 1424 A.D.[255] mentions an agreement that marriages were to be done only in the form of Kanyādāna. A father who accepted money for his daughter and the bridegroom who paid money were to be punished by the king. Even today amongst the tribe of the West Coast called Malapuḷayans, the husband has to pay the price of the bride to her parents.

The Prājāpatya form of marriage—marriage done before the sacred fire—supplanted all other forms. But, the marriage ritual in the south retained certain old usages. The tying of the tāli round the neck of the bride by the groom during marriage is found only in South India. Originally, perhaps, it was the tooth of a tiger. Later, it was a metal limitation of the original and was tied to a string.[256] Even within South India, there are variations in this custom. Amongst the Nāyars of Travancore, Cochin and Malabār, the ceremony of tying the tāli round the neck of the girl (tālikkaṭṭu) is different from the actual marriage called sambandham.[257] The tāli is tied by a mock bridegroom. The marriage ritual also includes the bearing of pālikai pots in which shoots of grain are grown. These are borne by women on the occasion, and this custom seems to be the symbol of an old fertility rite.

Marriage amongst cousins is a peculiar southern custom; but, the cousins are the issue of the maternal uncle or the paternal

255. *South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 56, pp. 82-4.

256. The tying of the coscecrated string (Māṅgalyam or Tāli) as also the tonsure of the widow after the death of the spouse are ascribed by some to pre-Āryan customs which had persisted.

257. The chief feature of the Sambandham is the presentation of a cloth (muṇḍu) to the bride by the groom in the presence of relatives. But, the union is dissoluable at will.

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aunt. The Tamiḷ term 'Marumakaḷ' means uncle's daughter as well as daughter-in-law. The Telugu word 'Koḍalu' means both niece and wife. The practice is sanctioned by *Baudhāyana Sūtra*.

Marriage was ordinarily monagamous. But, polygamy prevailed amongst the rich. The Hoysāla king, Narasimha,[258] according to the inscription of A.D. 1161, had 384 wives. Marco Polo says that the Pāṇḍyan king (who was Māṛavarman Kulasekhara 1268-1310) had 500 wives. Paes mentions that there were twelve thousand women in Kriṣhnadevarāya's harem. But, perhaps many of these women might have been simply the servants of the harem. Jesuit writers say that Tirumala Nāyak had 200 wives.[259]

It is difficult to say when sati came into use in South India. Sati perhaps originated in India as a method to give the husband the company of his wife in his sojourn to the other world. Later, it was sublimated into an act of conjugal devotion. There is no reference to it in the *Rig Veda*. In *Vedic* times, widows remarried. Zimmer held that the custom was Āryan. But, this view must be given up in view of discoveries at Ur[260] of two tombs which show that 'not only the draught animals but drivers, courtiers, ladies in waiting and the women of the harem, musicians and armed guards were obliged to follow their sovereign to the future world'. This Sumerian custom might have been adopted

258. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, V, Part I, B-1, 193, p. 106.

259. Concubinage undoubtedly prevailed amongst some of the richer classes. But, it could never have been general. We must dismiss as improbable exaggerations the statements of Muslim writers like Al Idrisi who say that in the Vallabhi kingdom of the 12th century A.D. concubinage was allowed with all unmarried women even if they happen to be aunts, sisters or daughters (*Elliot* and *Dowson—ibid.* I, p. 89). Marriage of paternal cousins is allowed by Muslim law. Abraham married Sarah, born to his father by another wife (*Genesis* ll· 27). Marīci and Dakṣa were brothers. According to the *Mahābhārata* (*Ādi*), Kāsyapa, son of the former, married Aditi, daughter of the latter. Hari, son of Svāyambhuva Manu by Ruci, married his sister, Dakṣiṇa and became the father of the 12 Yāmadevas. But, mention of polyandry is scanty in Indian literature. Apart from Draupadi, we hear of Svadha, daughter of Prasūti, being the common wife of the Agniṣvātta pitris and the apsaras, Māriṣa, being the wife of the ten Pracetasas.

260. Gordon Childe, *The Most Ancient East*. Ch. 8, p. 193.

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by the Pre-Āryans and transmitted to the Āryans. The Greeks noticed this custom during Alexander's invasion of India. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the sati of Mādri. But, curiously enough, it was not prevalent in early South Indian society and must have come through Āryan influence to South India. The *Kuṛaḷ* does not refer to it; but the *Maṇimekhalai*[261] refers to it. Even then, it was not common in South India. It may be noted that Hinduism never made this custom obligatory. Manu makes no allusion to it. It became usual in North India in the Gupta period and it[262] became popular in South India in the eleventh century. The mother of the Cōḷa Rājarāja I is said to have committed sati. A record in Mysore (1088 A.D.)[263] is a commemoration by a man of his daughter-in-law's sati Marco Polo refers to its prvalence in the thirteenth century. We have further references to it down to the Vijayanagar period.[264] It struck the attention of foreign travellers like Barbosa (1514), Nuniz (1535-36), Caesar Frederic (1567) and Pietro della Valle (1623), all of whom describe it. Women, who had committed sati, were honoured in South India by the setting up of stones called Mahāsatikkals (or māstikals as they are called in the Kannḍa country). Usually, on these stones, there was sculptured a woman's right arm raised and holding a lime fruit. It may be noted that widow-strangling was a recognised custom in Melanesia. The women, who were strangled, had turmeric powder spread over their faces and bosoms. Caesar Frederic,[265] referring to the low classes in Vijayanagar, says that wives were strangled and buried with their dead husbands.

But, as already mentioned, sati was never compulsory. Some Hindu states like the Mahrāṭṭa kingdom of Tanjore even forbade

261. II, 11. 42-5. *Puram* 256 shows a woman demanding burial with her dead spouse. *Puram* 246 refers to a proposed sati.

262. Kālidāsa and Śūdraka refer to it. But, even now, it was not popular. The only inscriptional evidence regarding this custom is the Eran inscription of Bhānugupta (*Corpus Inscriptiorum Indicarum*, Vol. III, 92). All the *Smṛitis* of the Gupta Age (except *Brihaspati*) contain regulations about the life to be led by the widow and make no reference to sati.

263. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, IV, Hg. 100.

264. It is said that when Acyutappa Nāyak of Tanjore died, his seventy wives and three hundred concubines committed sati.

265. Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 96.

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the custom. Early inscriptions show that widows continued to exist. An inscription of the Cōḷa Rājadhirāja II, pointed out already, allowed widows to own the lands and jewels of their dead husbands. Linschoten[266] who wrote in 1583 says that a widow who did not commit sati had to take off her jewels and shave her head. The popularity of sati was due to marital love and glorification of such acts. It was also due, as Thompson observes,[267] to the fact that 'widowhood was an experience so desolate and crammed with misery that it was better to perish in the flames that consumed the husband's corpse.' Hinduism does not favour the re-marriage of widows. Manu[268] distinctly condemned the re-marriage of widows. Yuan Chwang found when he visited India that it was prohibited throughout the country. But, though the re-marriage of widows is generally not favoured, it may be noted that some castes in South India allow widows to re-marry. The statement of Linschoten referred to before mentions the tonsure of the widow; When and how it originated in India is still discussed. Some think that it began in North India only in the Rājput Age and spread to South India in the eleventh century. Some believe that it was a non-Āryan custom[269] which was adopted by many of the Āryans who settled in South India, and that it is not referred to by the *Sutras* except that of Āpastamba which seems to have been composed in the south. Even as late as the seventh century, it did not prevail in North India, as Bāṇa refers to the braids of hair of the widow. Tonsure never became general[270] whether in the north or in the south. In South India, it never prevails amongst many castes. Even amongst the Brāhmaṇās, the Teṅkalai Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇās never observe it. Happily, it is tending to disappear even amongst the other castes.

266. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 256-7.

267. *Suttee*, p. 48.

268. *Manusmṛiti*, IX, 65-6. But, it is noteworthy that the *Vedas* allowed it (*Rig Veda*, Maṇḍala 10-18).

269. Śrīnivāsa Iyeṅgār (*Tamil Studies*, p. 3) quotes an extract from *Kallāḍanār*. Nīlakaṇṭa Śāstri (*History of South India*) thinks that tonsure, like the tying of the tāli, was a Pre-Āryan Tamiḻ custom. See *Puṟam* 250 and 261 for references to this.

270. Al-Birūni nowhere mentions the tonsure of widows.

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Descriptions of ideal beauty tend often to be the same both in the north and the south.[271] But, spots on the breasts of women are considered to add to her beauty in the south. As in other matters, Hindus have elaborated erotics into a science, the details being classified and sub-classified. Here, the influence of the north has operated on the south in a marked degree, and erotic works in Samskṛit[272] have been translated. One peculiarity which is noticed in the Tamil poems is the extreme importance to Ūḍal—a feigned or a real quarrel of the women with her lover—as an incident amongst the love of sports.[273] The ethical maxims found in abundance in Tamiḻ literature indicate the very high degree of morality which prevailed in South India in the past. The statement to the contrary[274] by M. Srinivasa Iyengar is open to question. Sexual perversions like homosexualiasm came only with the Muslims and were unknown before. Kanakasabai says[275] that it was not considered indecent in early South Indian society to visit harlots. Herein, there is perhaps a great misunderstanding. It is true that, both in North and South India, courtesans lived in special quarters. We have reference to them from the Mauryan period to the days of Vijayanagar. Tamiḻ poetry refers to husbands forsaking their wives and seeking public women. But, it was never considered a decent practice both in the North and in the South. Here is an

271. An early description of female beauty is contained in the *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai* 11. 25-47. The fragrance of the body of a young woman is likened to that of the bough of the mango tree (*Aiṅguṟunūṟu* 19).

272. The *Kāmattuppāl* of the *Kuṟaḷ* is arranged on the scheme of the Aintiṇai, peculiar to the Tamils. Attempts have been made by some writers to find the influence of Vātsyāyāna's *Kāma Sūtra* in it. A popular work in Tamiḻ is *Kokkōkam*, a translation of the *Rati Rahasya* of Kokkōka supposed to have been made by Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya. It follows the Samskrit terminology closely except for some terms like candrakalā (rendered into amudanilai) and citrinī (rendered into cittini).

273. eg. Kuṟaḷ, III, 133.

274. *Tamil Studies*, p. 194, Adultery was regarded with disapprobation, and constancy was praised. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that syphillis was unknown in India till the end of the 15th century when it was introduced by the Portuguese.

275. The *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 124. Compare Tolkāppiyar (II, 221).

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illustration: The Cōḷa Nalaṅkiḷḷi says[276] that if he did not force his enemies to suffer 'Let this garland that rests on my shoulders fall on the loveless, unholy bosom of black-tressed courtesans'. It must also be remembered that, like the *hetaera* of Greece, public women provided intellectual company to men of culture in the past. Some of them like Vasantasenā portrayed in *Mriccakaṭikā* must have been of brilliant mental gifts. Vātsyayāna refers to such ghaṇikās and their accomplishments.

(To be continued)

276. Compare *Puṟam* 73 and *Kuṟaḷ* II. 92.

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Reviews

1. A HISTORY OF INDIA, from the earliest times to the present day. Michael Edwardes with 127 photogravure illustrations and 21 maps. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, pp. 444 Rs. 22/-.

2. ASIA IN THE EUROPEAN AGE 1498-1955. Michael Edwardes. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961. pp. 351. Thirteen maps, bibliographical note, Index Rs. 22/-.

Here are two good books by a relatively new author in the field of Asian historical study. Mr. Michael Edwardes made his first contact with India as a young soldier in 1940 and later served in Burma and China. He studied eastern languages in Paris for a time and has travelled widely in the newly independent countries of Asia meeting the people of these countries and their leaders. He began to study the history of British rule in India in 1954 and planned a series of books of which two have been pubished already: *The Necessary Hell* (1958) on the Lawrence brothers and the nature of British rule in India in the nineteenth century, and *The Orchid House* (1960) on the affairs of Oudh and the Company's relation to them up to the annexation. He began work on the *History of India* now under review in 1957 and two years later that on *Asia in the European Age*, the second book reviewed here. It is clear that Mr. Edwardes is a fast worker and it may be said at once that his works are generally well studied and written in a thoughtful and readable style, and he does not hesitate to express forcibly his own views on controversial topics.

The history of India is by no means a comprehensive account but only a fresh sketch of the salient features laying stress on the people and their fortunes through the ages, and playing down the kings, wars and dynasties, and seeking to place political events within their social context. The author seeks to avoid the imperialist and the anti-imperialistic bias though he rightly stresses that the effects of British rule are implicit in the nature of Independent India. The method of presentation reminds one of the technique of the screen. The narration is free from minute details which are, however, suggested if not conveyed by means of lively and even

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provocative introductions and inter-sections. 'Up until the British period', says Edwardes, I have quoted extensively from contemporary sources both in the text and in the appendices', and adds that most of this material is from non-Hindu sources, because of the general indifference of the Brahmins, the chief literary class, to historical writing as a form of literature. This method has of course its defects as well as its merits which will be assessed differently by different readers, but it makes the book very different in its impact from the histories so far known. The author is manifestly more at home with modern developments and the sources bearing on them than with ancient Indian or even Islamic culture, and falls into a number of mistakes in his sketches of Deccan and South Indian history. The illustrations are well produced and grouped under themes like gods, people, agriculture and industry, and the faces of power, the last being a gallery of the most significant individuals in the history of India. The author is sparing of dates in the narrative and groups them at the end of each section: 1448 at p. 200 being an obvious misprint for 1498. He claims without indicating details that he has revised some dates and says that he expects rather revolutionary changes in the chronology of the pre-Gupta period in the 'next ten years or even less'.

There are some serious contradictions: for instance, the doctrine of *bhakti* is said to have been first formulated by Ramanuja as the Hindu response to the impact of Islam in the religious field (p. 129), and in the very next page we read of Sikhism: "This great movement of *bhakti* can hardly be said to have been inspired by Islam, as its doctrine had existed before the coming of the Muslims" —which is some evidence of a glimpse of the truth. That the author's standard of ethical judgement is flexible becomes clear from his remarks on the actions of Clive, Warren Hastings, Dalhousie and other modern administrators. There are some very frank avowals. 'In the first half of the nineteenth century... India was to lose the proud position which she had been occupying for well-nigh two thousand years'. Again, 'exploitation of one sort of another is the nature of conquest, and the British were no different from their predecessors except in the ingenuity of their methods' (p. 225). Sometimes Edwardes descends into pure journalese as in the observations on the fear of Russia and its consequences (p. 241) or on the effect of Ranjit Singh's death in the Punjab (p. 246) or the reproduction of the text of Ellenborough's farcical

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proclamation on the 'gates of temple of Somnath' (p. 245). Here are examples of some striking estimates: Macaulay was one of the founders of modern India though with rather different emphasis than he anticipated (257); on the annexation of the Punjab, 'the modernizing zeal of Dalhousie thrust, with amazing energy, the framework of a civilized state upon a bewildered peasantry' (288); Gandhi's belief in, and practice of, humility and the western awareness of Pandit Nehru are identified as the main factors that have led to a synthesis, incomplete and inadequate as it may be, between the Hindu traditions of tolerance and non-violence and the western traditions of responsibility and the rule of law (344).

In Asia in the European Age Mr. Edwardes supplies a short history of Asia in colonial times explaining the notices of colonial aggression by European nations and the ideas that sustained them in their imperial pretensions. He points out how Asia was subjected to the impact of European ideas and how the residues of this exposure are now integral to the structure of independent Asia. In fact it was out of these ideas that the Asians forged the weapons with which they won their freedom. The leaders of Asian countries are in some respects like Europeans and Americans, at home in western institutions and ideas, but in others inscrutably different owing to their loyalty to their own indigenous heritage, and therefore often misunderstood and regarded as untrustworthy by their western critics. These rather confusing attitudes are symptoms, according to Edwardes, of an immense and exciting transformation that is also fraught with the most alarming consequences, not only for Asia but for the world. The new Asia is still in the process of being born, and it is the purpose of this book to explain the nature of its complex heredity and promote a proper appreciation of the problems of the new nations by creating mutual understanding among them and with the West.

The book comprises two parts: one entitled 'The Long Defeat 1498-1914', the first two hundred pages, and the other 'the Great Awakening 1914-55' about 120 pages. Japan's defeat of Russia formed a turning point in the story; by defeating a first class western power Japan not only rose to the rank of a world power herself, but planted the seeds of disintegration in the others by showing that the west was not invincible. 'To the nationalists and

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reformers of India, the East Indies, and China, emerging slowly from the dark night of colonial supremacy, Japan's victory was a prophecy of independence, just as in her defeat forty-years later was to be the reality' (158). The colonial exploitation of China in the last century when the nations of Europe descended on her like predatory animals is now paying off in the xenophobia and intransigence of Communist China, and in the terrible, and possibly final, threat to world peace (174). Many other shrewd judgements and frank appraisals are scattered all over the book. The West was hypocritical and the religion of its missionaries only a disguise for darker things (191). The Boxer rebellion was basically anti-missionary and anti-Chinese convert, and its first acts were to be the massacre of Christians and the destructions of their churches (192). From European historians, philologists, anthropologists and archaelogists, Asia was to receive a new and dangerous sense of the past (1914). In India Tilak achieved one thing and it was fundamental to the freedom movement. He proved not only that it was possible to attack the myth of British superiority on an intellectual level and in western terms, but to arouse a whole people in the struggle for freedom. His discovery was to give to Congress that ambivalence which was its strength when fighting the British and its weakness when it succeeded to power (199). The use of the ancient weapons of fasting, *hartal*, etc., for modern ends was the prime contribution of Gandhi to the technique of revolution (214). As Europe retreated, communism advanced, and its success is a direct consequence of colonial rule (234). The awakening of Asia, and its consequent rejection of western political domination, was to be an important weapon in the destruction of capitalism. Again, in the withdrawal of Russia from the western community and its severance from its own imperial past, a new independent *Asian* nation, hating the west and proclaiming a new dignity for the colonial struggle, emerged upon the scene (235). Marxism offers the exhilaration that once sent the hordes of Islam upon the campaigns of a holy war against the infidel (239). The attempt to force the Japanese language upon the peoples of the East Indies had as its byproduct an anti-colonial nationalism which gave the term 'Indonesian' some real meaning for the first time (287). Japan 'had not only destroyed the myth of western military superiority once and for all, but had also discredited the very founda-

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tion of western rule—its belief in progress and democracy and all the rest of its invisible exports' (293).

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE MARATHAS (1668-1815) by V. G. Hatalkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Bom), D.Litt (Paris) Univ. of Bombay, 1958. pp. XVI and 308. Bibliography, maps glossary, Index Rs. 17.50.

Originally submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University, the work has been revised by Dr. Hatalkar in the light of the original material from the French archives. It comprises twenty-three chapters, and its conclusions are summed up in a twenty-fourth (272-80). It is a well documented and systematic study of the subject likely to be of more interest to the student than the 'general reader'. The author draws attention to the strange coincidence between the careers of the Marathas and the French in India from start to finish. In the same year in which Sivaji crowned himself king (June 1674) Francois Martin found ed Pondicherry (Aprril 1674). Again the period 1690 to 1699 was the darkest in the career of both; the whole of Maharashtra was overrun by the Mughal armies, and Pondicherry surrendered to remain in Dutch hands till 1699. By 1750-54 when the French power had reached its apogee, the Marathas in their turn had established a powerful state. Both received crushing blows to their power in 1761 and their glory faded almost at the same time.

The French, the author says, lived sufficiently long in India to play the laudable role of pointing out to the Marathas and Tippu Sultan the stupidity of exhausting themselves by internecine wars instead of preparing themselves for a fight with their real enemy, the English; he also says that the French warning that the destruction of Tippu would subsequently bring about the ruin of the Marathas came to be true. His attempt to disprove the French view that the Marathas were only animated by plunder and could be easily bought over by money will not be held convincing by all readers. The chronological table at the end is a useful presentation of the synchronisms among Maratha, French and English transactions of the period covered by the volume.

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RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER AND OTHER ESSAYS, M. G. Ranade and *Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles*, K. T. Telang, University of Bombay, 1961 pp. vi, xiv, iv, 236. Price Rs. 12-50.

This reprint of Ranade's and Telang's essays issued by the Bombay University is dated March 1961. The very next month, April 1961, the Publications Divisions of the Government of India in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting presided over by Sri B. V. Keskar brought out another reprint of the same essays. Both editions seek to make accessible to scholars valuable works of Indian scholarship that have become rare, and the Union Ministry has made the book the first of a new series: Classics of Indian History and Economics. This seems to us to furnish a conspicuous instance of the secrecy, and consequent lack of coordination and wastefulness, that often characterize the maturing and execution of our academic as of some other plans.

There are some differences between the two editions. The Bombay University edition now under review includes two more essays by Ranade which are not included in the Union Government reprint, viz. Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries, and Currencies and Mints under the Maratha rule. It also contains a critical introduction which seeks to correct Ranade's findings in Maratha history, (themselves reached in the course of occasional contributions during a busy life), in the light of later research; there are also notes to each chapter and essay written with the same purpose. The Introduction and notes are the work of an editorial committee of three scholars—G. S. Ghurye, R. P. Patwardhan and R. V. Oturkar.

There can be no question that the essays reprinted here were important and original contributions at the time they were actually written. But there is really nothing very extraordinary about them, and it is pardonable to doubt the wisdom of resuscitating them after they have dated so much, and, what is more, of treating them in much the same elaborate manner in which Bury treated Gibbon. And certainly there was no need for two reprints appearing within a month of each other. Is this result of misplaced linguistic patriotism developing after the realization of Samyukta Maharashtra?

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BRITISH RELATIONS WITH SIND 1799-1843: An anatomy of Imperialism. Robert A. Huttenback. Uni. of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962, pp. xii and 161, Notes, Bibliography, Index, price $ 4·00.

This beautiful little volume is a frankly critical and well documented account of the policy of the British Indian Government to Sind generally known only for Napier's pun: *Paccavi*, I have Sind (sinned). Actually, Huttenback points out, Napier was only the last if most important actor in a drama the significance of which has never been duly appreciated. The period involved is less than fifty years, but in this short interval virtually all the factors which prompted British expansion on continents and in places far removed from the Indus valley manifested themselves in Sind—considerations of trade, communications, and defence all of which fostered tensions between Great Britain and Sind. But of prime importance was the great power of the 'man on the spot' and it was the arrival of Sir Charles Napier which spurred events inexorably toward hostilities.

'In the final analysis', says Huttenback, 'it was not calculated government policy which determined the course of Anglo-Sind relations but the curious interplay between the personalities of Ellenborough and Napier, with Outram acting as catalyst. Napier's sixty years of frustration and Ellenborough's latent megalomania were able, in an era of slow communications, to carry the day against the combined weight of the East India Company and the British Government' (114) 'The letter ordering Lord Ellenborough to avoid hostilities in Sind at all costs arrived three months after the battle of Miani' (116). At p. 92 last line 'hold' is printed for 'old'; and 'rules' for 'rulers' in the last line on p. 114.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

TILAK AND GOKHALE. Revolution and Reform in the making of modern India, by Stanley A. Wolpert, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962. pp. xviii and 370. Notes, Bibliography, Index, price $ 7.50.

This volume is essentially a history of the pre-Gandhian era of India's nationalist movement viewed through the lives and ideas

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of the two foremost leaders of Maharashtra. The author, Assistant Professor of History at Los Angeles of the University of California, first visited India in 1948 and returned in 1957-8 as a Ford Foundation Fellow. He has published a novel, *Aboard the Flying Swan*, and another *Nine hours to Rama* dealing with Indian life touching on the last phase of Gandhi's life which has been filmed.

The present work is an authoritative study based on primary sources in English and Marathi. It is the first comprehensive biographical analysis of the men whose lives and actions were so intimately associated that much of the motivation for each could be understood adequately only in the light of the other's behaviour. Both lives are traced against the background of their turbulent times and help to illuminate a relatively neglected era of recent Indian history. The book places in clearer historical perspective the elements of continuity in the Indian Nationalist movement over which Gandhi and Nehru were later to preside.

The opening chapters focus upon the great revolutionary and reformer predecessors of Tilak and Gokhale, especially Chiplunkar and Ranade. Analysis of the precongress Poona careers of Tilak and Gokhale follows, in which their later public conflict is found foreshadowed by personal controversy and basic disagreement over issues of social reform. Maharashtrian political factionalism, subsequently reflected on the national scene, is explored in detail. The study's focus expands with the expanding impact and influence of Tilak and Gokhale on the National Congress sessions and the centres of imperial power in Calcutta and London. Gokhale's role on the Supreme Legislative Council and Tilak's connections with underground revolutionary societies are given careful consideration. The influence of each man upon his leading lieutenants and disciples (including Gandhi) and the national legacy of each are considered in the later chapters. The work ends with a summary comparison of the ideologies of Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gokhale.

We may offer some telling extracts to illustrate the high level of judgement and writing that characterizes the book. Gokhale 'was a rationalist who believed in astrology, a statesman who founded a monastic society, a poet who taught mathematics' (p. 25). Tilak's three books though superficially devoid of political content or implications, were all 'actually more significant contri-

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butions to the literature of Indian nationalism than to Indology' (p. 63). 'In his every action Gokhale laboured to prove to all Englishmen he met that he was in fact worthy of full equality with them at any level' (115). 'The S.I.S.'s influence on the *ashramas* (village retreats) later established by Gandhi should not be underestimated' (163). 'In 1911 Gokhale drafted and introduced the first primary education bill in India's history. From Tilak's viewpoint, compulsory primary education enforced by a foreign government was no less onerous an imposition on Hindu society than compulsory vaccination or the raising of age of consent' (182). Gokhale's agreeing in 1908 to the Muslim representatives being elected by special constituencies 'was probably the greatest blunder of his political career' (233-4). Gokhale wrote in September 1909, 'the formation of the Hindu league with the Punjab leading is frankly anti-Muhammadan, as the Moslum league is frankly anti-Hindu, and both are anti-national' (235). The facts are stressed that Gandhi's relations with Gokhale date back to 1896, that Gandhi recognized Gokhale as his master, and that Gokhale had developed the highest regard for Gandhi years before he assumed the leadership of the Nationalist movement and described him in 1909 as 'the indomitable Gandhi, a man of tremendous spiritual power, one who is made of the stuff of which great heroes and martyrs are made' (25). Gandhi's 'was the unique capacity of combining Tilak's mass appeal to nationalist sentiment with Gokhale's sweet reasonableness and ethical purity' (253). In this carefully documented book we miss the authority for the author's statement that Srinivasa Sastri 'was unwilling to accept a position subordinate to Gandhi within the S.I.S.' (273) and so Gandhi left the Poona Home of the Society shortly after his guru Gokhale died. Actually Sastri is quoted as writing on June 6, 1916 to inform Gandhi that 'the general feeling of members' of the S.I.S. Council was 'strongly adverse' to his application for membership in the society; and Gandhi himself wrote in reply, a week before the formal vote on his application was due to be taken, 'whilst there is possibility of cooperation when we are working independently, I can see that I would as a member be a disturbing factor' (274). But the author's opinion that Sastri was 'incapable of inspiring in Gandhi the admiration or the devotion, which the Mahatma had instinctively lavished on Gokhale' (273) may well be true. By the end of his life Gokhale's influence upon British official opinion was unsurpassed

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by that of any Indian (299). Tilak's ultimate goal was independent India, his immediate goal, to secure the reins of political power. He was neither squeamish nor doctrinaire about the methods he employed, so long as they helped further his ends' (301). 'He appears to have been supremely aware that a potent method of achieving swift popularity was by criticising unpopular innovations' (302).

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

SIRAJUDDAULLAH AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY by Sri Brijen K. Gupta, Dept. of Asian Studies, Victoria Univ. of Wellington. Leiden E. J. Brill, 1962. pp. xii, and 170. Four Appendices, two maps, bibliography.

The purpose of this well produced monograph is to examine the background, the causes, the nature and the consequences of the conflict between the English Company and the Nawab of Bengal. The most important predecessor of Gupta in the field was S. C. Hill who wrote over half a century ago and virtually neglected the economic and commercial aspects of the story in his pursuit of the political side of the story and his attempt to depict Sirajuddaullah as an 'avaricious and cruel' monster. 'Hill, unfortunately', says our author, 'has tended to use any information he has come across to discredit the Nawab and his officers without caring to examine either corroborative evidence or the nature of his source' (p. 55 n.30). The present account is based on a careful and comprehensive study of all contemporary sources and takes into account the vast changes in the political and economic climate of India, the changes in the status of the Company itself which in the mid-eighteenth century made the English and Bengali interests quite irreconcilable.

There are six chapters in the body of the book and each is followed by a handy summary of its main points, and there is besides a seventh chapter titled 'conclusion'. There are four appendices on details: (i) Sirajuddaullah's struggles against Ghasiti Begum and Shaukat Jung; (ii) George Gray's account and Captain Mill's Diary of the fall of Calcutta; (iii) List of Europeans who survived the siege of Calcutta; and (iv) List of Europeans who lost their lives during the siege of Calcutta.

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By the middle of the eighteenth century, Gupta points out, the European companies by their involvement in Deccan politics had become political entities in India; while in England, anachronistically, the court of Directors still considered them to be commercial corporations. The events of the South must need have conditioned the English agents in Bengal and led them to assure an attitude of open defiance of the Bengali authorities. On the Black Hole the author says: 'The question is not whether the Black Hole confinements took place or not. They did. The question is how many people were confined and how many people survived, and were they all men? ... Holwell's story is fantastic' (p. 75).

The vindication of Sirajuddaullah is complete and notable. 'It seems difficult to reconcile ourselves with the rhetoric of Holwell and Macaulay, and the scholarship of Hill, who have accused the nawab's campaign as motivated by avarice... As for his alleged cruelty, though it may be argued that the Indian historians have accused the nawab of maltreatment of the natives, yet we find no evidence of his deliberate persecution of the English. His vices were those of despot, but he had no love for deliberate cruelty, as Macaulay would have us believe.' (p. 83). The author cites with approval Malleson's estimate of the Nawab: 'Whatever may have been his faults, Sirajuddaullah had neither betrayed his master nor sold his country...the name of Sirajuddaullah stands higher in the scale of honour than does the name of Clive. He was the only one of the principal actors in that tragic drama who did not attempt to deceive' (p. 125).

It is very surprising that in so well printed a book some lines or at least phrases seem to have dropped out from the paragraph at the top of page 141 and lines 7 to 10 make no sense.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

ASOKA AND THE DECLINE OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE, by Romila Thapar, Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 28/-

The literature on Asoka has increased enormously ever since James Prinsep first published his work on Asokan inscriptions in 1837. The earliest monograph on Asoka was, however, the exhaustive study of Vincent Smith, published in 1901. In course of

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time several scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar, J. M. Mcphail and R. K. Mockerji have produced works on Asoka and his inscriptions. Romila Thapar is primarily concerned with the reinterpretation of Asoka and his teachings on the basis of the available data.

Perhaps his most striking reinterpretation pertains to Asoka's Dhamma. He discusses whether Asoka's Dhamma was merely the enunciation of the Buddhist code or the Brahmanical creed and concludes that it was different from both, and that it was an adaptation of known principles to the changed environment. 'For Asoka, Dhamma was a way of life, the essence of what he had culled from the moral teachings of the various thinkers known to him, and probably his own experience of life. It was based on a high degree of social ethics and civic responsibility' (p. 164). This would mean that Asoka's Dhamma was in a certain measure original in its content. The suggestion is implicit that Asoka founded a new religion of his own which laid a great emphasis on morality. The object in introducing it was partly to increase the power of the central authority. The author of this book is inclined to think that it was a move similar to that attempted by Akbar eighteen centuries later (p. 144 & p. 215). But it is difficult to agree with him in this interpretation. Asoka was not confronted with the conflicts of various religions as Akbar was. Nor is it clear from the available sources that he was intent on employing religion as a tool of centralisation. The generally accepted view that Asoka was an ardent Buddhist, intent on popularising the Buddhist teachings is even now more convincing than the author's new interpretation of Asoka's Dhamma. It is true that Asoka was tolerant to the Hindus and the Ajivikas. That was but a product of his liberal approach to religion.

A valuable contribution of the author of this book is found in his attempt to settle several chronological details relating to Asoka's life and activities. The author's conclusion that Asoka's accession could be assigned to 269-68 B. C. seems more acceptable than other alternative dates. Equally notable is his attempt (summarised on p. 196) to determine the history and chronology of the successors of Asoka.

The decline of the Mauryas within a few decades of Asoka's death is a poser which has been subjected to a critical analysis by the author. The succession of weak kings, the partition of the

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empire into two divisions, the oppressive nature of provincial governments and the pressure on Mauryan economy under the later Mauryas are stated to have been some of the causes of the decline of the empire. To these Thapar adds the overcentralised nature of the Government and the absence of national unity particularly in the midst of divergent cultural inequalities in Mauryan India. Whether Asoka's pacifism was responsible for the decline of the empire, as is often alleged, is subjected to a critical examination, and the author rightly discounts the suggestion that even an entire generation of complete pacifism could not weaken an empire and lead it to disintegration.

Among the six Appendices provided in the book, the one dealing with the date of the Arthasastra and the other furnishing a translation of the edicts of Asoka are useful and interesting. Regarding the date of the Arthasastra, the views of various scholars, beginning from those of Fleet, Jolly, Jayaswal and D. R. Bhandarkar are examined and Thapar is inclined to accept the traditional view assigning it to Kautalya, the minister of Chandragupta. The translation of the edicts is commendable. It is not a literal translation, nor is it accompanied by footnotes giving lengthy explanations of variations of meaning.

On the whole, the book is a scholarly and valuable addition to the existing literature on Asoka. The bibliography and index are carefully prepared. The get-up of the book is good.

K. K. PILLAY.

ANCIENT INDIA, by V. D. Mahajan. Publishers—S. Chand & Co., Price Rs. 12/-

This is largely of the nature of a text-book intended for the Post-Graduate examinations in History. The author treats the subject from ancient times down to the death of Harsha. In respect of certain parts of India the period dealt with comes to a still later date, as for example in the case of the Chandellas of Bundelkhand and the Palas of Bengal. It is not easy to say how all this comes under Ancient India. A more appropriate name for the book would have been "Hindu India" or "Pre-Mussalman India".

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It has undoubtedly the merits of a good 'made-easy' book. Elaborate details are furnished in a systematic and analytical manner. But questions of interest for the advanced student are not discussed. Without merely providing a list of 'Suggested Readings', the view points stressed by particular writers or controverted by them could be given in foot-notes. The attempt to multiply points may be attractive to the candidates appearing for examinations; but it is achieved frequently at the expense of accuracy. Certain topics like comparison of the Indus and Vedic civilisations and differences between Hinduism and Buddhism have been over-simplified.

It is not clear why the author has commenced the history of South India and the Deccan with the Rashtrakuta empire. Chronologically it is inexplicable how the consideration of the Rashtrakutas could appear earlier than the history of the Pallavas and Chalukyas. The Satavahanas, an essentially Deccan people, are considered along with the history of North India after the history of the Sungas and Kanvas.

The chapter on Greater India is a welcome addition to the topics generally dealt with in books of this kind. But in this chapter, as in the rest of the book, there is a marked tendency to cling to the published books rather than give independent conclusions.

On the whole, the book may be said to fulfil its professed object. For those "appearing for University examinations or competitive examinations" it is sure to be helpful.

K. K. PILLAY.

AN EMPIRE BUILDER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, by L. F. Rushbrook Williams. Published by S. Chand and Company. Price Rs. 10/-

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, is one of the most interesting personalities in the whole course of Oriental history. Succeeding to the territories of Khokand and Fergana in his 11th year of age, he had to encounter endless hostilities from his neighbours and rivals. He was descended from Chingiz Khan on the mother's line and from Timur on the paternal side.

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Twice he secured the ancestral throne of Samarkand and twice he was expelled from there. His failure for the third time (1512 A.D.) marked an epoch in his career, for he then turned his attention in the direction of India. Five campaigns he undertook against Hindustan, and in the last of these he fought the decisive battle of Panipat. Babur's skilful tactics of war primarily won him the battle.

After having seated himself on the throne of Delhi he encountered the opposition of Ranasanga of Mewar at Khanua and triumphed over him. Other Rajputs were thereafter easily crushed. The Afghan chiefs of Bihar and Bengal were vanquished in the battle of Gogra.

Within four years of his victory at Panipat, Babur died. Though he had crushed many of his dangerous enemies in Hindustan he did not succeed in organising a stable administration. In fact he does not seem to have had a talent for the details of administration.

The notable feature of his adventurous career is his amazing patience and endurance. 'He remained cheerful under successive shocks of adversity that would have driven most men to suicide'. Moreover, though a life-long soldier, he was a gentleman of culture with refined tastes and accomplishments. His own Memoirs reveal the man and his outlook. As Lanepoole has said' "Babur's Memoirs contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well-read in Eastern Literature, a close and curious observer, quick in perception, a discerning judge of persons, and a devoted lover of Nature, one moreover, who was well able to express his thoughts and observations in clear and vigorous language'. In the later years of his life, however, as Mr. Rushbrook Williams points out, Babur became addicted to drink and betrayed a weakness for two Circassian girls who had been sent him as a present by Shah Tamasp.

The book under review is a reprint of the Allahabad University lectures of 1915-16 delivered by Mr. Rushbrook Williams, who was for a time the Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. The author has utilised the available original sources like Babur's Memoirs, the Tarikhi-Rashidi, the Shaibani Nama and the Humayun Nama, as well as modern works like those of Erskine, Lanepoole and Caldecott. Mr. Rushbrook Williams is moderate and balanced in his judgement and lucid in his exposition.

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The present edition of the lectures, however, leaves much to be desired. Misprints are numerous and some of the illustrations are far from clear.

K. K. PILLAY.

AKBAR: THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT, by R. Krishnamurti. Published by the M. S. University of Baroda. Price Rs. 5-50.

An attempt is made in this brochure to discuss the much-debated question of the religion of Akbar. After an introductory description of Akbar's early life and education, family traditions and early reforms, the author examines at some length the emperor's organisation of the Ibadat Khana. Akbar was eager to know the truth contained in each religion and with that end in view, he summoned representatives of various religions to this debating hall. To begin with, exponents of the different sects of Islam alone were invited. After 1578 others like Brahmins, Jains, Jews, Zorastrians and Christians were invited to participate in the Ibadat Khana. There is little justification for the view held by certain writers that Akbar organised these discussions only in order to expose the ignorance of the Ulemas publicly. However, it must be admitted that there exists no accurate record about the topics of discussion and the arguments put forward by the various sectarians. From this circumstance, the author of the book under review jumps to the following unwarranted conclusion: "The scrappy reports of the discussions at the Ibadat Khana make it clear that debates between religionists and sectarians were often accompanied by discussion of administrative matters of the kingdom and personal criticisms of various theologians and Muslim divines." (p. 21). This is little more than a piece of guess.

As a result of the discussions in the Ibadat Khana Akbar seems to have realized the need for the regulation of the religious conduct of all classes of people. Hence he issued the well-known "Infallibility Decree". The nature and effects of the Decree are examined. It was not with the object of assuming divinity or autocratic powers that he promulgated the decree.

Finally about 1582 there appeared Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, a full discussion of which is provided in the book. The principal sources of information about this strange institution are the accounts of

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Bartoli and Badauni. The main object of the Faith apparently was to adopt the truth contained in all religions. Thus "the Din-i-Ilahi was more in the nature of a society of seekers of truth than of a religion founded on the authority of a Prophet". The precise difference that marks off the Din-i-Ilahi from a formal religion, is the liberty it gave to its members to lead their own spiritual life. 'More stress was laid on morality than on faith, a good life than on prayer and worship'. As regards external observances, practices found in different religions like Hinduism and Zorastrianism were adopted. That is one reason why some like the Xian fathers considered Akbar to have died a Hindu and a non-Muslim.

The fact is that Akbar was a seeker till the end of his life and had not settled complacently on a crystallised faith. Even in 1605 the Din-i-Ilahi had not taken shape as an independent faith. It appears to have been an experiment. To describe the Din-i-Ilahi as a "monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy" and "a monument of his folly" as V. A. Smith has done, is to betray a failure to understand Akbar and the working of his mind.

The question whether Akbar persecuted Islam is discussed at some length by the author of this book (pp. 129-41). Father Monserrate and Badauni thought that Akbar was unquestionably hostile to Islam. There is no doubt that certain regulations were opposed to Islamic practices. Mr. Krishnamurthi contends that these regulations were not intended to persecute the Muslims; their object was to improve the tone and outlook of all people. It is likely that he wanted to convince the non-Muslims about his sincerity in introducing reforms; that was the reason why certain practices traditionally adopted by the Muslims were condemned.

A concluding chapter on Akbar's religious philosophy seeks to show that he was an ardent Muslim till 1575 and that thereafter he gradually became an openhearted and inquiring type of researcher into the truths of religions. But in all likelihood the secular and political motives dominated his religious policy. He was capable of acts of hypocrisy as seen from his personal visit to the shrine at Ajmere in 1579. The author's attempt to defend Akbar in this matter (p. 164) is hardly convincing. Nor is his description of Akbar as a Theosophist (p. 168) quite appropriate.

The book is a product of a study of all the original sources of information. However, the author has a tendency to hug the

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sources too close to his bosom. There are far too may quotations from the sources; some quotations appear more than once in the book. There are some misprints.

K. K. PILLAY

STUDIES IN INDOLOGY, Vol. II, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. V. Mirashi. Published by Sri S. V. Mirashi, Modikhana, Sholapur. Copies to be had from author, Dharampeth, Nagpur. Price Rs. 20/-

In this volume Dr. Mirashi has brought together thirtyseven of his studies in Indology, putting them under three sections, Ancient Indian History, Ancient Indian Eras, and Miscellany. The topics treated are mostly of a controversial nature. The first three articles deal with Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Imperial power. By reading the date of the Ellorā plates as 463 (of the Kalachuri era), instead of (Śaka) 663 proposed by S. K. Dikshit, he has pushed back Dantidurga's reign to 715 A.D. The Manor plates of the (Śaka) year 671, edited by Dr. Mirashi himself, let him provide the reader not only with another genuine date of this ruler but also important details about the civic administration of the period. The note on the Tivarkhed plates of Nannarāja, in which he convincingly demolishes Dr. Altekar's theory of Dantidurga's descent from Nannarāja-Yuddhaśūra, should have preceded Article 3, in which he brings together all the information we have so far about Dantidurga and gives an excellent account of his rise to power.

Article No. 5 shows that the Bāṇas reached as far as the Bilāspur District and ruled there for some time. The next two articles which attempt to prove that Vāmadeva, on whose feet many Kalachuri rulers are said to have meditated, was the founder of the northern Kalachuri power are rather controversial. But even though we should like to have more evidence to concur fully with his conclusions, we feel that he is on stronger grounds than D. C. Sircar who thinks that Vāmadeva had received the Kalachuri kingdom as *guru-dakṣiṇā* from Gāṅgeyadeva.

Articles 8 and 9 deal with the Paramāras. The first of these is a brilliant piece of historical reconstruction which has added new facts to the history of Sindhurāja Paramāra on the basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. The second article deals with the

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events which followed the death of Bhoja. With the help of the Dongargāon he shows that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhoja and Jagaddeva was one of Udayāditya's younger sons. Article 10 proves conclusively that Gāṅgeyadeva of Tīrabhukti was different from Gāṅgeyadeva Kalachuri.

If Dr. Mirashi had been born in Medieval India, the next section would have earned for him the title of *Prativādibhayaṅkara*. He states fully the adversary's case (*pūrvapakṣa*) before showing its unsoundness and proving that:—

(1) the Śaka era spread to South India 'with the extension of the power of the Māhishaka king Māna and his descendants,

(2) the Gaṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra su. di. 1 in the expired year 420, the 14th March, 498 A.D.,

(3) the dates ascribed to the Harṣa era might actually be of the Bhāṭika era founded by an ancestor of Mahārāja Bheṭṭi in *circa* A.D. 624.

Controversy on all these points is likely to continue for some time more.

The Miscellany section comprises articles 17-37. Though everyone of them has something new to contribute, we may specially mention Article 19 which proves that Pṛthīviṣeṇa, the suzerain of Vyāghradeva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions, can only be the Vākāṭaka ruler, Pṛthivīsena II; Article 21 which establishes that Ujjayinī was the capital of the Later Aulikaras; the note on Vajraṭa identifying him with the Maitraka ruler, Śīlāditya III; Article 21 showing that the date of the Dadhimatī Mātā inscription is 100 80 9, i.e., 189 of either the Harṣa or Bhāṭika era; and the note on the Javakheḍā Plates of Amoghavarṣa I. Article 31 (1) proves that the Decimal Notation came into vogue in Northern India in the last quarter of the eighth century. Articles 36 and 37 show that Kālidāsa occupies not only the first but also the last place in Dr. Mirashi's affections, and he can, whenever he chooses, go back to Kālidāsa and enjoy his divine muse.

No serious student of Ancient Indian History can afford to go without the two volumes of Dr. Mirashi's Studies, for they contain in a handy form most of the research papers of a scholar who has written much during the last three decades and shed new light on many dark corners of our culture and history.

DASHARATTA SHARMA

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Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path,* Bombay.
3. *Asia Major.*
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala,* Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin,* Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.*
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library,* Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africa Studies,* London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal.*
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University,* Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review,* Patna.
15. *Indian Archives,* Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review,* Madras.
18. *Indian Quarterly,* New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Waltair.
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21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,* Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute,* Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society,* Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay,* Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly,* New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,* Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review.*
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review.*
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.*

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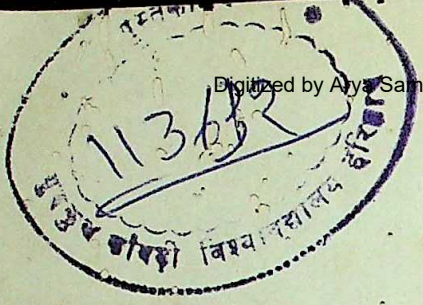

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